

LIVES
OF
THE ENGLISH SAINTS.

St. Richard,
BISHOP OF CHICHESTER.

MANSUETI HÆREDITABUNT TERRAM, ET DELECTABUNTUR IN
MULTITUDINE PACIS.

LONDON:
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1845.

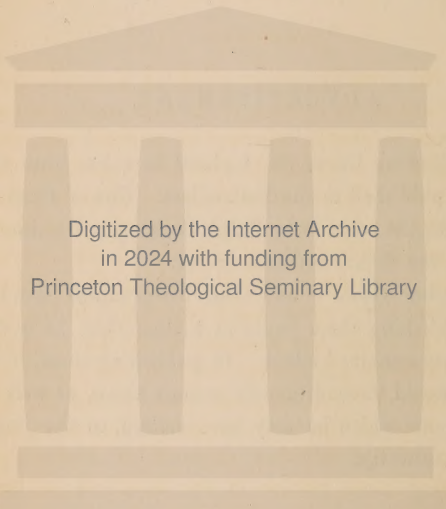
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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following life of St. Richard is taken from the two lives published in the Bollandists. One of them is anonymous, the other is by Ralph Bocking, a Dominican friar, and the Saint's intimate friend.

The author wishes to add, that circumstances have led to his publishing these pages at a time when he would rather have remained silent. In publishing them, however, he would unconditionally submit them, as well as anything else which he may have written, to the judgment of authority.



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THE LIFE OF

St. Richard.

INTRODUCTION.

THE world, probably, never presented an appearance so Christian as at the opening of the thirteenth century. Never was it so clearly expressed in outward acts, and acknowledged as a principle, that the Church, as the representative of Christ on earth, is the ultimate judge in all matters of right and wrong. The long pontificate of Innocent the Third closed with the fourth Lateran council, the most august assembly which Christendom had witnessed for a great many centuries. In the old basilica of St. John, the presence of the Latin patriarch of Constantinople seemed to fill up the gap which the separation of the Greeks had caused in the Church, while the head of the lately reconciled Maronites, and the deputy of the orthodox patriarch of Alexandria, represented a great portion of the East. In its first decree the council developed further the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, with the same authority as was possessed by the fathers at Nicea ; it then goes on to rule many points of practice, affecting laymen as well as ecclesiastics. It thus implies that Christendom is politically one republic, administered on the supposition that Catholicism is Christianity, and Christianity the only true religion ; and that not only every individual in his intercourse with his neighbour, but every state in its relations with others, as far as

it could be said to have a conscience, and every king in his conduct to his subjects, was to be guided by the laws of Christ and of his Church. Thus the canons extend themselves over marriages and wills, over the distinction between ecclesiastical and civil courts, over church-fiefs and lay-patrons, and the taxes to be paid by the clergy. None can fail being struck with the fairness of the provisions of the council. "We forbid," it says, "all clerks from extending their jurisdiction any further, to the prejudice of the secular court, under pretence of defending the liberty of the Church. Let them be content with written constitutions, with customs which have already received sanction, that 'those things which are Cæsar's be rendered to Cæsar, and those things which are God's be paid to Him by a rightful distribution.'"¹ They form a code of laws regulating the relations between Church and state, between the clergy and laity. What, however, is here most important, it implies in its provisions that points of international law come within the jurisdiction of the Church. That to the pope, as the head of Christendom, it belongs to provide for the good of the whole, is a recognized principle. What is now carried on by maintaining the balance of power, and by the law of nations, was then done by the Church. The holy see, in the system of Europe at that time, was considered as the impersonation of divine justice, the ultimate referee in all cases which are out of the common run of things, and for which the law does not provide. As the sanctions by which this code was administered were invisible, so its punishments were only terrible to the eye of faith. The notion that excommunica-

¹ 46 Canon.

tion was a drawing of the spiritual sword, appears senseless to modern ears, but was full of meaning to men who believed that to be excluded from the sacraments was the greatest privation in the world. Every one understood and knew what it meant, even those who knowingly incurred it. Not only emperors and nobles, with their ministers and rude soldiers, but even ecclesiastics, are often found to continue for years under the ban of the Church, refusing to fulfil the conditions by which they might obtain absolution. But then they did it not in unbelief, but with their eyes open, knowing that they were perilling their souls. They knew very well on what terms they could procure absolution. By the provisions of the council, the whole was made a matter of law, so that all men, judges as well as criminals, knew what they were about. In order to restrain churchmen in the use of this terrible weapon, the jurisdiction of each was circumscribed and confined within a certain sphere, beyond the bounds of which it was *ipso facto*, null and void. Several canons provide protection against an unjust sentence, and a punishment to one who had carelessly inflicted it, "for it is no light fault to inflict so great a punishment on a guiltless person."²

These are specimens of the code of laws which the mind of Innocent, at once comprehensive and penetrating, provided for Europe. His pontificate is the culminating point of the middle ages. It was the last development of the movement begun in the eleventh century, and, if St. Gregory shines with more saintly

² Can. 47. The phrase is so like Innocent, that it is probably from his hand; v. for instance Ep. 98. Lib. 3. Reg. 15.

lustre, in the undaunted faith with which he plunged the world into confusion by throwing upon it great and unearthly principles, Innocent is more majestic, in the fulfilment of his predecessor's vast idea.

That Innocent did fulfil it, is evident from the notion which all men have of him, foes as well as friends. Some praise, and others blame him, but all wonder at his success. All men trembled before the inflexible justice seated on St. Peter's chair. Not a cry against oppression was heard in the remotest corner of Europe, but a legate departed from Innocent's side to demand reparation. His was no partial equity; his allies, as well as his enemies, felt the power of his arm. When wars on all sides were staring him in the face, and he well knew that France was his only support, he fearlessly raised his voice to bid Philip Augustus take back his wife, Ingeburga, the friendless Danish princess, whom he was persecuting. The taking of Constantinople by the Latins was against his express commands; he bade them go straight on to Jerusalem. The son of Raymond, Count of Toulouse, fled to his feet for protection against those who had obtained his inheritance, and Innocent preserved for him that portion which lay on the eastern side of the Rhone.³

³ The story quoted by Michelet from the chronicle of Languedoc about Innocent's blessing young Raymond, of Toulouse, seems very doubtful. The Raymond who is there called a child, was grown up and married, when this is said to have taken place. It is, however, certain, that Innocent in 1212 forbade his legate to deprive Raymond of his inheritance. Ep. 100, 3. Reg. 15. He also took an interest in young Raymond's education. Ep. 210, 3. Reg. 15, and reproved Simon de Montfort for his injustice. 211, (though it is true he was afterwards convinced that Simon was less to blame. Ep. 48. 4. Reg. 16.) Something like what the chronicle asserts may, therefore, have taken place.

In England, also, the moment that John had submitted, he defended him in his rightful dominions against Philip Augustus, whom he had raised up against him, against the barons and against his own archbishop. However high were Innocent's claims, he knew well the distinction between the temporal and spiritual power; and when, for instance, he offered himself as arbiter between the kings of France and England, he said that he did not claim to adjudge a fief, but to judge of an offence against religion.⁴ Whatever Innocent was, then, it is at least certain that he proceeded on clear and definite principles, and so posterity is unanimous in the idea which is formed of him, though men differ widely in their judgment upon his conduct. He left behind him a recognized state of things, which was, henceforth, to be the law in Europe. On the other hand, though men have no doubt as to Innocent's personal success, it has been said that its effects soon passed away. If by this it is meant, that the policy of the Church of Rome, in these times, is not the same as that which Innocent pursued, it is of course true. But it is not true that Innocent's work died with him. It remains now in its effects, and it enabled the Church to escape the dangers in which it was placed by the pressure of Mahommedanism from without, as well as by the presence of a Mahommedan spirit within her, in the last princes of the house of Swabia, and still more in the great universities of the day. It did not avail against hereditary sovereigns as it had done against the elective emperors of Germany,⁵ but it fulfilled its object in

⁴ Honorius says nearly the same thing. Raynald in ann. 1225, 33.

⁵ Traces of the rising up of a feeling that the empire was inferior

destroying the dangerous power of Frederic. Entering, as we are now about to do, on the thirteenth century, it will be necessary to see how this state of things affected the churchmen of the time, in order fully to understand the elements which were at work around S. Richard, whose life we are now to write.

The Crusades form one of the great features of this century, as of the last. By this time, however, the holy war had assumed a very different form from that which it bore when Peter the Hermit first roused Europe to take up arms in defence of the holy sepulchre. The first crusaders were actuated by no deep policy when they first flew to the relief of Jerusalem; they followed the natural impulses of religious hearts, when they rushed across sea and land to rescue the place which had been hallowed by the steps of our blessed Lord and by his death. The tears with which the crusaders bedewed the whole of the *via dolorosa*, and the refusal of Godfrey to wear a jewelled crown where his Saviour had borne a crown of thorns, are symbols of the spirit which animated the first crusade. But, simple as were the wishes and the thoughts of these brave soldiers of the cross, it is no less true, that the first crusade "prevented the fall of the declining empire."⁶ In process of time, however, Christendom became aware of this, and trembled for its safety. The crusades, therefore, became a series of struggles between the West and the East. It is wonderful, that those who tax the crusaders with folly and fanaticism should never have been struck with the imminent

as being elective, are seen in St. Louis's answer to Pope Gregory, and in the same pope's letter to Frederic. Raynald, in ann. 1239, 39. 1227, 23.

⁶ Gibbon's Decline and Fall, c. 59.

danger which for so many centuries threatened Christendom, and with the fact, that the Turks did conquer Constantinople, when the arms of the West no longer kept the Moslems occupied at home. It is forgotten that, in the eighth century, France was only saved by the valour of Charles Martel ; and that, in the ninth, St. Peter's, at Rome, might have become a mosque, like St. Sophia, at Constantinople, had it not been for the faith and the courage of Pope Leo the Fourth. After all the storms of the Saracen invasions were over, the result was, that while the Mahometans were undoubted masters of the East, their permanent establishment in Egypt and Africa pressed close upon Europe, into which they extended by the possession of a large portion of Spain and of Sicily. The danger was as pressing as ever in the days of Innocent, when the decaying race of the Saracens had been invigorated by the infusion of the young blood of the Turks. The retaking of Jerusalem, and the union of the divided empire of the Saracens in the person of Saladin, gave a painful lesson to Christian princes on the disadvantages of their own disunion ; and Innocent's great wish was to unite all Christendom in a holy war. The crusade, therefore, was no longer to be carried on by the desultory devotion or chivalry of individuals, as at first ; a great and combined effort was to be made to retake the Holy City. Like everything else which was great in the world, according to Innocent's idea, worldly valour and skill in arms were to be consecrated by the cross, and to bear on the face of them a Christian aspect. And so in the crusade, which was the carrying out of Innocent's plan, it will be seen that the object was not only to recover Jerusalem, but to break the Moslem power, and to substitute everywhere the cross

for the crescent, that there might be one fold under one shepherd.⁷

Under Innocent, then, the crusade was a part of the policy of Europe. By the canons of the Lateran Council, "universal peace was to reign in Christendom, at least for four years," and all who violated it were to be excommunicated. As for those who refused to join the crusade, the council bade them "consider with what conscience or what security they will appear before the Only-begotten Son of God, Jesus Christ, into whose hands the Father has given all things, if in this matter so peculiarly His own they refuse to serve Him, who was crucified for sinners, by whose gift they hold life, by whose bounty they are preserved, yea by whose blood they have been redeemed." This was Innocent's last work. In his address to the council, he said, "Because to me to die is Christ, and to live is gain, I refuse not, if it be God's will, to drink the chalice of the passion, whether it be my lot to drink it in defence of the Catholic faith, or in aid of the Holy Land, or for the freedom of the Church. And yet I would fain remain on earth till the work which I have begun be finished." He hardly lived to see it begun, for he died the year after he held the council. It is to the manner in which his work was carried on that we would especially direct attention, not in order to give a continuous history of

⁷ See the Bishop of Winchester's wish, *Matt. Par.* 472. *Nos cum ad Christi inimicos qui residui remanebunt, venerimus, trucidabimus, et mundabimus terræ superficiem, ut universus mundus uni Catholicæ Ecclesiæ subdatur et fiat unus pastor et unum ovile.* It appears to have been by Innocent's advice that the Crusaders attacked Egypt, and thus extended their operations. *Jacob. de Vit.* lib. iii. in ann. 1218. The same author gives an account of the condition of the East made out at Innocent's desire, in order to be fully aware of the state of the whole of the Mahomedans.

it, but to fix certain landmarks, as it were, by which the reader may know the position of parties during the age in which St. Richard lived.

The man on whom the eyes of the world were fixed as being destined to fulfil the plans of Innocent was Frederic the Second, the youthful emperor of Germany. Born of a family ever in opposition to the Holy See, he had been placed under the wardship of Innocent, had been preserved on the throne of Sicily by him, and at last had been elected emperor by his means, though it had ever been the policy of the court of Rome to separate the kingdom of Sicily from the empire. Frederic was thus the child of the Church ; besides he had vowed solemnly when Honorius the Third put the imperial crown upon his head in the basilica of St. Peter, that he would march to the Holy Land to rescue it from the Saracens. He assumed the cross and the imperial mantle at the same time. Besides which the talents of the new emperor, and the charm thrown around him by his youth, and his high station as the first prince of Christendom, made all the world expect great things from him. Soon after the death of Innocent, the affairs of the Holy Land looked brighter than they had done for many a year. According to the plan traced out by him, the crusaders invaded Egypt, in order to take a wider range in their attack on the Mahometan arms. In 1219, the cross was raised on the walls of Damietta, and the Moslems of Syria and Persia trembled at the news. Much, however, as was the labour of winning the city, it was found harder to keep it. Anxiously did the crusaders look out towards the sea from the walls of Damietta for the coming of Frederic ; "for a long time past," says a letter from the crusaders' camp, "have we waited for the emperor and other noblemen, by whose

coming we hope that this work, begun by so many hands, will have a happy issue. If, however, which God forbid, this our hope of succour be disappointed next summer, our possessions in Syria and Egypt, both those which we have newly acquired, and that which we have long had, will be in danger of being lost.”⁸ No Frederic, however, came; he sent a fleet, which, by some misfortune, could not join the Christian host; and he assisted the Duke of Bavaria in fitting out an armament, but he was engaged in other work at home, and Christendom threw the blame of the loss of the city upon him.

The crusaders might have waited long for Frederic before he came. The fact is, that Frederic was not the man to carry out Innocent’s plans. He was a man far beyond the princes of his time in talents and acquirements, a legislator, a poet and philosopher. His leisure hours were occupied in reading, and the works of Aristotle,⁹ which by his order had been translated from Arabic into Latin, were often in his hands. But his views of the duty of a Christian emperor by no means coincided with those of the Church. The unity of Christendom and the triumph of the cross over the crescent were objects only secondary to the extension of the Roman empire, for such in theory was the empire of which he was the head. To recover the dominion¹ which his ancestors claimed over the Lombard cities was the aim of his whole life. The imperial eagle would willingly have flown over to the Holy Land; but he was hovering over the plains of Lombardy, ready to pounce on Milan

⁸ Matt. Par. in ann. 1221.

⁹ See his letter to the University of Bologna, in Bulæus, vol. iii. p. 103.

¹ Dominium was the technical word which he used, and which the Italians rejected. Vide Muratori, *Annali d’Italia*, x. p. 352.

and Genoa.² His plans were even wider than this : “ I have sworn, he says, “ as the world knows, to reunite the scattered limbs of the empire ; and I will not be slow in fulfilling my oath.”³ In his marriages and alliances, he steadily kept his ambitious plans in view. He married the daughter of the king of Jerusalem, and immediately assumed the title of king of Jerusalem in defiance of the right of his father-in-law. He would have had no objection to appear in the East as the acknowledged head of the princes of Europe, and the king of the Holy Land. He is even said to have had views upon England, into which he might have obtained a footing by his marriage with the sister of our weak and unfortunate Henry the Third.⁴

But there was a deeper evil in Frederic's character, and one which was far more dangerous to Christendom than his ambition. A large portion of Sicily, his native kingdom, was filled with Saracens, at one time, his turbulent subjects, but afterwards his most faithful allies. In this luxurious island, he thoroughly imbibed the voluptuousness of Eastern manners ; and his sensual life destroyed the tone of his mind, and prepared it to receive a more subtle poison. The sight of two religions lying side by side,⁵ is a trying thing for a man when his own creed has a loose hold upon him. It was too

² Such is Frederick's own language : “ *Dum tamen pacata nobis Italia, rebus et juribus, quæ proximi parentes nostri tam in Imperio quam in regno pacifice tenuerunt nobis in pace dimissis, alæ nostræ pennas et plumas integrales habeant, quibus ad alta conscendere securius valeamus.*”—Matt. Par. in 1244, p. 620.

³ Matt. Par. in ann. 1239, p. 484.

⁴ See the curious remonstrance addressed to Henry by his people. Matt. Par. in ann. 1244, p. 623.

⁵ In the east, as well as in Sicily, Christians were often brought into dangerous proximity with Mahomedans. Baldwin, prince of

much for Frederic ; and the foundation of his faith was sapped. It must ever remain doubtful, whether he gave utterance to the blasphemies imputed to him, and charity would give him the full benefit of the doubt ;⁶ but, at all events, he became the type of the *bel esprit*, the free and easy half-minstrel, half-soldier of the day. Even the thirteenth century had its liberalism, and Frederic was the leader of it. That Christianity was all in all, the true religion, and therefore the only one, was the basis of Innocent's system ; it also implied that the Church was identical with Christianity ; and that to be cast out of the pale of the Church and to lie wilfully under its ban was to cease to be a Christian. In these days there is a middle way, however fallacious, to fall back upon ; but in Frederic's day there was none, and the faith of that man who refused to the Church the power of the keys and treated excommunication lightly was a very doubtful one.⁷ And not only was the whole life of Frederic a denial of this truth, but he seems to have made a protest against it a portion of his creed. The majestic posture of the Church annoyed and fretted him, and he tried to escape from it by looking towards

Antioch, proposed to give his own niece in marriage to the Sultan of Iconium, and it appears from his account that many Christian women had married Saracens. Du Chesne, v. 452. The Mahommedans even made converts out of the camp of the crusaders. Dachery, *Spicil.* iii. 590.

⁶ Most authors seem to acquit Frederic of the blasphemy of which he was accused. It is strange, however, that Gieseler should attempt to clear him from the charge in living in shameless habits. That he had several natural children is a fact too notorious to be denied ; and the way in which his ambassador at the council of Lyons rebuts the charge is remarkably feeble.

⁷ Frederic expressly denied the power of the keys. Vide *Gesta Sti. Lud.* p. 344, ap. du Chesne.

the East. Instead of that oneness of Christianity which was the principle of Innocent's policy, he proceeded in his dealings with the Saracens, practically as if the Christian and Mahommedan religion might subsist side by side. He made an alliance with the Saracens, and talked of his friend the Sultan, and boasted of his influence with him. The great political mistake of this conduct, to say no worse, becomes apparent further on in the history of the century. While the Mahometans were, as it were, knocking at the gates of Christendom, and threatening it on every side, its energies were crippled by the contest going on between the Holy See and the empire. In the very midst of this terrible contest, news arrived in Europe that a foe more dreadful even than the Saracens had arisen in the East; the savage horde set in motion by Zingis Khan poured itself upon the Holy Land. The Carizmians sacked Jerusalem, and profaned the Holy Sepulchre which the very Turks had respected. Nay more, the living tide rolled on to Europe, and the hearts of all trembled within them when it was told that this dreadful scourge was threatening Hungary. And Europe could not unite to oppose them, because the emperor, its natural leader,⁸ was lying under excommunication.

This is not the place to enter upon a detailed narrative of the mode in which that sentence was passed upon him. The justice of it was a point debated at the time when it was pronounced;⁹ it is enough

⁸ It was once an acknowledged maxim—"Imperatorem esse Ducem natum Christianorum contra infideles." Vide Leibnitz de Jure gentium.

⁹ St. Louis exhorts the emperor to yield, *etiamsi summus Pontifex esset ad aliqua minus debite processurus*. Gesta Sti. Lud. p. 336.

that the principle involved in the contest was, that the world should be governed on the principles of Christianity, and not on those of a practical scepticism. The patience and long-suffering of the good Honorius bore long with Frederic's dissimulation, and his violation of vows which he had so often and so solemnly renewed. But his successor, Gregory, was a pontiff of a very different character. The energetic old man had hardly been crowned with his double diadem¹ in St. Peter's, when he wrote to Frederic,² explaining in his mystical style the insignia of the imperial dignity, how the cross was marked on the golden ball and on the crown, that he might remember his Lord's Passion and the crown of thorns, and serve Him as a Christian prince. Frederic knew too well with whom he had to deal to disobey the summons. There was a general stir in Christendom, and the emperor was to lead the crusade in person. He embarked and set sail; but all on a sudden the Christian world was astonished to hear that the imperial galley had returned, and that sickness had prevented the emperor's proceeding. Forty thousand pilgrims are said to have returned panic struck at the news, and the crusade was frustrated.³ Men were divided at the time as to the reality of this sickness; but at all events the deed, says Matthew of Paris, turned to the grievous hurt of the business of the Lord. The indignant Gregory excommunicated him; but Frederic, despising the sentence, the next year, with a small

¹ Life of Gregory ap. Muratori.

² Raynaldus in ann. 1227.

³ Gieseler merely says that Frederic was forced by sickness to ask a new respite, without mentioning the doubt whether he really was prevented by sickness, a question which it seems hardly possible now to decide.

retinue, passed over to the Holy Land, and without drawing his sword or putting lance in rest, concluded a peace with the Sultan on principles which were yet unknown to Christendom. The cross and the crescent were to have equal right in the Holy City ; while the Holy Sepulchre was to belong to the Christians, the site of Solomon's temple⁴ was given up to the followers of Mahomet. He treated with the Sultan not as a Christian emperor, but as a friendly European monarch ; and "an equal code of civil and religious liberty was ratified" for Christian and Mahometan.⁵ Christendom was astonished at this novel union ; and Frederic's conduct seemed to justify the pontiff in the eyes of Europe for an act which had before been condemned as hasty.

From this time to the end of Frederic's long reign, there was but little peace in Christendom. The emperor was once reconciled to the Church, but it did not last long, the old question of the freedom of Lombardy soon divided him from the see of St. Peter. He set himself up as the direct enemy of the Church, appointed bishops as he chose, and levied taxes on the lands of the Holy See in Lombardy and elsewhere. He affected a zeal for apostolic poverty, and talked of reducing the bishops to the state of primitive times. St. Louis, an acute observer, and by no means a personal enemy of Frederic, saw clearly that he aimed at the absorption of the

⁴ This means, probably, the mosque of Omar. Muratori seems to think that it may be the Holy Sepulchre ; but that *templum Dei* means the Jewish Temple is plainly marked in Gregory's letter to the Duke of Austria, ap. Raynald. in ann. 1229. Gibbon need not, therefore, have accused the clergy of wilful error.

⁵ See Gibbon (*Decline and Fall*, c. 59), who, with his usual acuteness, has seen where the question lay, more plainly than most writers.

Church into the empire.⁶ The plains of Lombardy were the battle field on which this great struggle between the Church and the empire was fought. It was of vital interest to the Court of Rome, that the Lombard league should subsist as a barrier between Germany and the Holy See. It was not, however, its interest that an open war should break out between the rival parties in the north. Until, therefore, the time when the breach between the pope and the emperor was beyond any hope of healing, the Court of Rome, though it supported the Lombard league, did its best to keep the peace.⁷ When once, however, the scabbard was thrown away and the emperor was deposed, it animated them in every way in its power.

It is melancholy to watch this scene of desolation. It was a war of extermination waged by the Holy See against the house of Swabia. Doubtless Frederic deserved his deposition. By attempting to recover the absolute claim of the empire on Lombardy, he violated the peace of Constance, and what was more, he sinned against the peace of Europe ; he deserved, therefore, to be deposed in the same sense as Napoleon deserved to be sent in exile to Saint Helena. But though there can be little doubt on which side justice lay, yet parties are so mixed and confused, that it is often difficult to recognize the old principles, even of the Church party, in matters of detail. Men wondered to see the court of Rome at one time endeavouring to prevent St. Louis from going on the crusade, while at another it encouraged him ;⁸ at one time commuting vows of proceeding to the

⁶ Quoted by Fleury, vol. xvii. p. 253.

⁷ For a proof of these efforts see Raynaldus in ann. 1233, 36; 1235, 12; 1236, 2.

⁸ Gregory the Ninth tried to stop the crusaders, Matt. Par. in ann.

defence of the Holy Land, at another promising St. Louis not to do so.⁹ While Gregory the Ninth had an army in his pay to oppose the emperor, called the army of the Church, Innocent the Fourth, on the other hand, disclaims the use of the secular arm.¹ And this was the most distressing feature of the contest ; parties swayed to and fro, so that men lost their old landmarks, and knew not where they were. It shook the confidence of men thus to see the energies of the Holy See turned away from the crusade to a struggle with the emperor. The money of the people of Europe, which had been grumblingly bestowed on the holy war, was still more unwillingly bestowed on a war of which they had not faith to comprehend the interest. It seemed to remove the Holy See from its position as the head of united Christendom in its contests with the followers of Mahomet. At the very time when the danger from the infidels was most imminent, the ruthless struggle went on ; in vain did St. Louis intercede for peace ;² it continued to rage even after Frederic's death, till the proud house of Hohenstauffen fell, as it deserved to do, before the Church, of which it was the direct foe, and peace was restored to Christendom by the accession of the good Rudolph of Hapsburg.

It seemed amidst all this perplexity as if Innocent's work was undone. The see of Peter, indeed, is founded

1240, and writes to St. Louis that a crusade against Frederic would be more meritorious, ep. 31, ap. Labbe. Conc. 13.

⁹ Compare Raynaldus, 1247, 56; 1248, 13.

¹ Vide Innocent's letter to the chapter of Citeaux, Matt. Par. in ann. 1245.

² St. Louis expostulated with Gregory on the excommunication, Muratori, Annali x. p. 354. He mediated also at various times. Mat. Par. in ann. 1246, 1249.

on a rock, and can never fail ; but its action on the nations may be indefinitely weakened at particular times, and it seemed likely to waste its energies in a war which was going on at its gates, instead of leading Christendom to a joint attack on the infidels. But the mission which Frederic had despised was taken up by St. Louis, in whom Innocent's ideal of the Christian knight and king was fully realized. When news arrived in France of the ravages of the Tartars, Blanche of Castile,³ the queen-mother, came to him in tears, saying that a general destruction threatened the Church on account of the sins of Christendom. But Louis answered cheerfully, " Be of good cheer, mother ; if these Tartars come, either we will drive them back to the Tartarean seats from which they come, or they will send us to heaven with the crown of martyrdom." This was the whole idea of Louis's crusade. He offered up himself as a victim for Christendom, and went to die in Africa with the word Jerusalem on his lips. It would be a tempting thing to make of Louis a hero of romance, but the intense reality baffles all attempts at adornment. In the pages of the brave and religious, but matter of fact Joinville, he appears like a figure drawn by the most imaginative of painters. " By and by," says Joinville, in the midst of one of the battles in Egypt, " I saw the king coming on with all his host, which advanced with a fearful flourish of trumpets, clarionets, and horns. He stopped at an elevated part of the road, with all his men-at-arms, to give some order. And I promise you never saw I so fine a man ; for he appeared above them all, from the shoulders upwards. He had on his head a helmet, which was gilt and very beautiful, and a sword of

³ Matt. Par. in ann. 1241.

German steel in his hand." And further on he exclaims with rapture, "I assure you the good king did this day greater feats of arms than I have ever seen in all the battles in which I have ever been."⁴ But with all this headlong bravery no crusade proceeded on such settled principles as his. He went to Egypt with vessels laden with instruments of agriculture,⁵ and with all the means of effecting a settlement. He had, besides, this in view, the universal extension of Christ's kingdom as strongly as Innocent himself. One day during his captivity the sultan saw him looking sad, and asked him the cause. Louis answered, "Because I have not won to Christ thy soul, for the love of which I left my sweet France and my sweetest mother." Then said the sultan "The men of the East thought that for the sake of our lands, not of our souls, thou didst undertake this pilgrimage." But Louis answered, "I call Almighty God to witness that I care not ever to go back to my realm of France, could I but win thy soul and those of the other infidels to Christ."⁶ The home policy of Louis was as unworldly as the spirit which led him to assume the Cross; he even wished to give up Normandy to England, from mere scruple of conscience as to the impureness of his own claim. Yet with all this he was a man of considerable powers; he was the author of a code of laws, and France, under his rule, was the best governed country in Europe. Even Frederic feared him, and released some French bishops whom he kept in cap-

⁴ Joinville, 43, 45.

⁵ Soldanus significavit ironice regi Francorum utquid ligones, tridentes, trahas, vomeres, aratra et alia culturæ necessaria in partes Orientales, quas non noverat, secum in navibus apportasset si eis uti non curaret, &c. Matt. Par. in ann. 1250.

⁶ Matt. Par. in ann. 1252.

tivity, for the wrath of Louis was raised, and the Oriflamme would soon have been displayed before the gates of Cologne. Innocent's attempt to form Christendom into one polity, in which the Gospel should be the code of international law, had at least one martyr. Though the crusade of Louis was a failure, yet we may believe that his long captivity, the insults and sufferings which he endured, and his death far from his realm of France, averted the wrath of God from Christendom, and stopped the progress of the infidels even more effectually than his undaunted courage.

But if Mahomedanism pressed upon Christendom from without, while its energies as a political body were paralyzed by the religious indifferentism of its natural head, another evil, far more terrible and wide-spreading, was sapping the foundations of the faith of the nations ; and this was a species of Mahometanism within the Church itself. The subject is far too wide to be treated at length in a meagre sketch like the present, but the thirteenth century is unintelligible without some notice of the heresies which infested the Church, and of the means which God put into the hands of His Church to heal the disease which, humanly speaking, threatened her existence.

It has been noticed elsewhere that the rationalistic movement of the last century was met by the spiritual writings of the Cistercians, and especially of St. Bernard. Another enemy now invaded the Church, far more systematic in its attacks, and more openly heretical. This was a direct and avowed Pantheism, which, from its affinity with the doctrines of the followers of Mahomet, shows marks both of an historical connection with them, and of the strange sympathy which often developes the same tendencies, at the same time at oppo-

site ends of the world. In the beginning of the century there appear in the universities certain wild doctrines, of an Oriental character. It seems at first unaccountable how such notions should start up in the midst of Europe, as if some secret underground channel had floated them on from Arabia. The forms which they take differ from each other, but all have the same Eastern features. All regard the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity as mere manifestations of the Deity, suited to particular ages ; while some, with a more marked affinity to the doctrines of Islam, misinterpreted our Lord's promise concerning the coming of the Paraclete. The value of the Sacraments was denied, and, as a natural consequence, the relations between our Lord and His Church became in their hands a Pantheistic union of the soul to its Creator. And, strange as it may appear, these tenets had a direct connection with the study of Aristotle, seen as he was through the medium of Arabic commentators. As a natural consequence, therefore, the mass of the intellect of the day was infected with them, and their advocates proceeded on a system which marked their boldness and determination. It was discovered that a society for the propagation of these opinions was organized in the universities of Lombardy, Tuscany, and France ; that they were bound together by oaths, and even aimed at spreading them among the people, by sending men under the disguise of pedlars to disseminate them.⁷ Upwards and downwards the disease had spread ; the university of Paris was obliged to limit the number of its doctors in theology to eight, because a great part of them had been corrupted by such heretical notions ; and several persons of low rank were burned at Paris for

⁷ Bulæus, vol. iii. p. 35.

declaring that the souls of all mankind were one, and that if the Apostle Peter was saved, so should they. When it is considered that the whole of the south of France was leavened with Manicheism, had set up an Albigenian pope, and was in arms to defend its heresy, the danger which thus menaced Christendom cannot be exaggerated.

It was very hard to know how to meet this influx of infidelity into the Church, for it was no less. The Church herself seemed to be pausing before she adopted a final course. Her policy in the last century had varied ; first, St. Anselm's writings and example had encouraged the intellectual movement ; afterwards St. Bernard opposed it. The representatives of the three schools of metaphysics⁸ were at different times condemned ; but this was on account of errors in theology, and no definite judgment was pronounced as to what was the legitimate use of philosophy in religious studies, though the tendency of the Church was undoubtedly to discourage it. These errors passed away with their authors, two of whom, indeed, retracted them ; but the main question was still undecided, and the danger still continued. Peter Lombard, indeed, attempted to give a direction to the movement by drawing up a system of theology ; but the Book of the Sentences, though by its universal reception as a text-book, it was the commencement of what may be called the official adoption of the scholastic system, was still far too positive for the unruly metaphysicians. Its terms came direct from the Fathers, not from Aristotle ; and when

⁸ Roscellinus was a Nominalist ; Abelard, a Conceptualist ; Gilbert, a Realist. Of Abelard, the most popular of the three, John of Salisbury says, that he had few followers in his time. Metalog. 2, 17.

a fresh importation of Aristotle's metaphysics came from Constantinople,⁹ the students threw themselves upon them, without waiting for the sanction of the Church. The first news of the danger was conveyed by the appearance of a heresy with Aristotle for its textbook ; and the Church, when it proceeded to condemn the heretic and to burn Aristotle's works, found that the evil had gone too far, and that the whole field of philosophy was already in the hands of the infidels. It seemed as if the world was too strong for the Church. Decree after decree came out, but each was less stringent than the last.

In this state of things, the first check to the infidel party was the spread of the Dominican Order. It planted itself boldly at the head-quarters of the evil, in the midst of the Universities. The Dominican convent was a haven of refuge to the doctor who was wearied with the strife of tongues and the sharp encounter of wits, and still more to the youthful student, whose faith was in peril amidst the mass of opinions about him. At first, the Order was opposed to the introduction of the new school ; afterwards, it seems to have gone with the stream ; and at last God entrusted it with the mission of reconquering for the Church the field of philosophy which the world had well nigh wrested from her. How this was done will be best shown by a refer-

⁹ Vide Natalis Alex. Hist. Eccl. vol. iii. cap. 3, art. 2. The general reading of Aristotle seems to have been put too early in scholastic lines. St. Anselm has no trace of it. John of Salisbury complains that few went beyond Boethius and Porphyry. Metalog. 2, 16. 2, 20. fin. He himself only knew the logical books as appears from his referring to the other books second hand. It is doubtful, indeed, whether the physics and metaphysics were known at all till the very end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century.

ence to the Saint who accomplished it. St. Thomas is the representative of the thirteenth century, as St. Bernard of the twelfth.

A more unpromising school than that from which Thomas Aquinas came could hardly be imagined ; his ancestors, the counts of Aquinum, were an ancient and powerful Ghibelline family : they were vehement supporters of the emperor Frederic the Second, and his uncle, one of that emperor's most faithful servants, was married to Anna, his natural daughter. Besides this, the young nobleman was sent to Frederic's university of Naples. He was thus thrown into the very midst of the new philosophy ; every association of his life led him that way, as well as the bent of his mind and the genius of his country, which, as he notices himself, was the birth-place of Pythagoras and the cradle of philosophy. This was a dangerous taste in such an atmosphere as surrounded the university of Naples ; and Thomas fled for refuge to the Dominican Order. His first initiation into Aristotle was in the solitary tower of the fortress of his family at Aquinum, where his brothers had confined him to withdraw him from the Order. His sisters, whose love brightened his prison, brought him a Bible, the Sentences of Peter Lombard, and the Organon, so that his first introduction to Aristotle was in the midst of sufferings, which gave a fresh reality to his religion and left him in little danger of infection. When he afterwards rejoined his Order and was sent to the convent of St. Jacques at Paris, it was in the silence of a heart dead to worldly passions and filled with devotion to God, that the dumb ox of Sicily pondered the questions of the schools. He found Aristotle in the hands of Mahommedan commentators, such as Averrhoes, leading the most acute intellects of the day into infidelity.

But they joined with their scepticism, the wildest Pantheism ; while they disbelieved the Church, they put their faith in the most extravagant systems.

Nothing can be better calculated to show the dangers which beset the Church, than a notice of the special system which St. Thomas was called upon to oppose. Wild as were the opinions of the Averrhoists,¹ they were but the natural development of the previous agitation of the schools, ever since the disinterment of heathen philosophy had roused men to reflect on their own minds. To and fro, the schools had gone seeking rest for the sole of a philosophic foot. The object of all the various sects of schoolmen, Nominalists, Conceptualists, and Realists, was one and the same ; their aim was to find a criterion by which they might determine how far the external world corresponds to our ideas of it. Their doubts on the subject were the natural result of their undue devotion to dialectics. Logic was with them omnipotent ; it was a lever capable of moving the world, if it had but a fulcrum of good substantial certainty ; but this was precisely what was wanting. Given the truth of the premisses, they found that they could prove anything ; in other words, they could prove nothing till they had previously ascertained the truth, or in modern language, the objectiveness of the ideas of the human mind. And their doubts on the subject even extended to the objects of sense. They soon discovered that while an external object makes a single and individual impression on the senses, the idea by which it appears before the mind is something very different. It

¹ If the system of Averrhoes seems too absurd for confutation, it should be remembered that it reappeared at the time of the Reformation, when it was condemned by Leo the Tenth, fifth Lateran council, sess. 8, p. 842, Labbe. tom. 19.

is the nature of the human mind to form an idea of an object by passing a judgment upon it. The way in which we recognize its existence, and become conscious of it is by judging it. And we pronounce it to be very different² from the sensible impression which we felt upon our bodies ; it has become in the mind a substance with quantity and quality ; it has been placed in space and subjected to time. Besides which it has been compared with other things and separated from them. In one word, it has become an idea, the archetype of a class, which is to include a number of objects, and to be the intellectual medium through which we view them. Thus, while each object in the external world exists by itself, and is distinct from any other ; in the mind, on the contrary, the whole universe is mapped out and classified. Nothing stands alone ; no individual object is viewed by itself, but is recognized by certain marks according to which it is referred to an idea within our minds.

The question then which occupied the schools, was, how far this classification was real ; that is, had anything really corresponding to it in nature. The mind has no immediate connection with the objects without us ; it forms its own judgment upon the impressions of sense according to its own rules. How far, the schoolmen asked, is this judgment objective, that is a true representation of the reality. Accuracy of thought was no characteristic of the times ; and so we find that the various theorists on the subject were not afraid of pushing their opinions as far as they would go. First came the bold Nominalist, who denied that the

² *Similitudo rei recipitur in intellectu secundum modum intellectus, et non secundum modum rei. Qu. 85. Art. 5. Ad. 3. Universalia secundum quod universalia non sunt nisi in anima. Opusculum de sensu respectu part. et intel. resp. univ.*

mind added anything whatever of its own to the impressions conveyed by the senses. He denied not only the validity but the existence of ideas, and affirmed that the words which express them were merely sounds uttered by the voice, raising in the mind by association the remembrance of a past sensation. With him there were no such things as qualities, and he professed himself utterly incapable of understanding what was meant by wisdom,³ though he knew what was meant by a wise man; colour conveyed to him no idea, though he knew what was meant by a coloured horse. Opposed to him was the no less bold Realist, to whom the only reality was the idea, and that which corresponded to it out of the mind, one and the same immaterial essence running through a whole class, of which the forms assumed by the individual were but accidental varieties. To him the sensations conveyed no knowledge, and were but indications of the existence of what the mind knew before by an innate idea.

These two schools, the Realist and the Nominalist, agreed at least in their belief of the objective nature of our knowledge of the external world, though the former derived it entirely from the mind, the latter entirely from the perceptions of sense. But after them came a school who set up for the proper mean between both; these were the Conceptualists,⁴ quick-witted dialecticians,

³ *Illi nostri temporis dialectici, qui non nisi flatum vocis putant esse universales substantias, cujus mens obscura est ad discernendum inter equum suum et colorem ejus—qui non queunt intelligere sapientiam hominis aliud quam animam.* S. Anselm de fide trin. c. 2.

⁴ The Conceptualists are nearly what are now called Nominalists. John of Salisbury classes Abelard with the Nominalists, though he said that his followers disliked the name. De nug. Cur. 7, 12, and Metalog. 2, 17.

men of clear but limited vision, well fitted to destroy, and but little capable of building up. In their system ideas were but logical abstractions, arbitrary creations of the mind, and conventional forms of thought. Being conventional they could only be true as conceptions; they were genera and species, and nothing more, and had no foundation in external nature. And thus they tried to solve the difficulty by accepting it. But at this point, with one fell swoop, came the Arabian Averrhoes upon the unwary schoolmen, telling them: "we accept your conclusion; the ideas of the mind are a subjective classification, having no foundation in external nature. They are the creation of the intellect."⁵ How is it, however, that all men use one and the same classification? All have the same ideas of man; all know that an ox is, and a tree is not, an animal. The only way to account for this uniformity of such divisions of nature is the hypothesis that they are the creation not of many intellects, but of one." So Averrhoes boldly asserted that mankind had but one common intellect; and a large class of schoolmen took up the assertion with all its consequences. The ribald clerks⁶ of the schools went

⁵ Intellectus agens facit universale; quod est unum in multis. Sed illud quod est causa unitatis, magis est unum, ergo intellectus agens est unus in omnibus. Summa Theol. 1, Qu. 79, Art. 5. Averrhoism is generally referred to Realism, but Conceptualism ought to have a portion of the credit, for it had also a tendency to Pantheism. When the Nominalist argued Species esse quæ non sunt obnoxie Creatori, they paved the way for Avicenna, who said, Quod prima substantia separata creata a Deo creat aliam post se, et substantiam orbis et animam ejus, et quod substantia orbis creat materiam inferiorum corporum. 1 Qu. 45, 5. See John of Salisbury de nug. Cur. 2, 20.

⁶ Goliardæ is the name given to these clerks in the life of St. Thomas published in the Bollandists. It has been supposed that this was a

about the country with the tonsure and ecclesiastical habit, teaching that after the dissolution of the body all distinction would be taken away, all souls would be merged into one, and consequently that all distinction of rewards and punishments would be impossible.

It was in the midst of this wild sea of opinion that St. Thomas found himself; the works of Averrhoes were the accredited comment on Aristotle, so that the Commentator was the name by which he was known, as Peter Lombard was the Master of the Sentences. To pull the Stagyrite down from his throne would have been impossible, if St. Thomas had wished it; all that could be done was to reconquer his works for the Church by giving them a Christian sense. He was obliged to throw his own philosophy into the terms which were in use about him. The same questions occupy men in every age, but each period has its own way of viewing them, and its own language, suited to its particular cast of thought. So St. Thomas threw himself manfully into the mazy labyrinth of words, and fought the new sceptical school with their own weapons. As if he had been the boldest Conceptualist, he laid it down as an axiom that the mind is the creator of its own objects.⁷ By its own powers, it forms its ideas of external things, and yet its ideas are no false representations of the external world, for the matter of

mistake for Garlandia, a district of Paris. It appears, however, that Goliardæ was a name given to the seditious wandering scholars of the day. Ducange connects it with the modern French "Gaillard," and quotes the Councils of Treves 1227, and of Sens 1239. Rocquefort, Glossaire de la langue Romane, connects it with Goiart, an old Provençal word. The Council of Sens calls them familia Golizæ.

⁷ Voces non significant ipsas species intelligibiles, sed ea quæ intellectus sibi format ad judicandum de rebus exterioribus. Qu. 85. Art. 2. Ad. 3.

these ideas is furnished from without by the senses. And this is the reason why St. Thomas insisted that the proper objects of the intellect are derived from the senses,⁸ because the very limitation of the powers of man is a guarantee that his ideas are not fictions, but have their foundation in that which is external to him, and over which he has no control. It is true that man has his own way of viewing the outward world, and the angels of God see it differently ; but there may be two methods of contemplating the same thing, yet neither need be false.⁹ There is, therefore, no necessity to imagine an oneness of intellect such as Averrhoes held, in order to give an objective certainty to human knowledge. The intellect of man, that is of each individual man, has its own powers, far inferior indeed to those of the blessed angels, and yet it must not be despised, for it is an image of the Everlasting Wisdom, and its ideas are shadows of the archetypal ideas¹ of the Divine mind, according to which the world was created. Limited as are its powers, by looking on itself it can form a notion of God, which, though feeble and inadequate, is nevertheless capable of being developed by the Church on earth, in order to its perfect development in the Saints in heaven. The Arab had perverted into Pantheism a great and real truth. There is, indeed, one great Light which lighteneth every man

⁸ Intellectus humani proprium objectum est quidditas sive natura in materia corporali existens, et per hujusmodi naturas visibilium rerum etiam in invisibilium rerum aliqualem cognitionem ascendit. Qu. 84. 7.

⁹ Est enim absque falsitate ut alius sit modus intelligentis in intelligendo quam modus rei in essendo. Qu. 85, art. 1, ad. 1.

¹ Necesse est dicere quod anima humana omnia cognoscat in rationibus æternis per quarum participationem cognoscimus — non tamen objective sed causaliter. Qu. 84, 5.

which cometh into the world ;² but this does not interfere with the fact that the intellect of each man is a substantive thing, with its own powers and operations, just as the fact that each human being derives his existence from God does not take away from his individual personality, nor blend his being with that of his Creator.

It is evident from this, that the mode in which St. Thomas defends the Church from peril, is very different from that in which St. Bernard had fought her cause in the century before. St. Thomas is engaged in vindicating the human intellect, while St. Bernard's works tended, at least, to depreciate the exercise of it. The reason is, that the aspect of things was changed since the Church was saved from the influx of rationalism by hindering the progress of the scholastic movement. Men no longer identified faith with reason, as Abelard had done ; they had now learnt quite sufficiently to separate them. For instance, Averrhoes had removed the intellect utterly out of the control of the conscience, and had introduced fatalism into the exercise of reason. The view taken by his disciples was, that faith and reason were utterly and irrevocably opposed. Men said that the doctrines of faith and the conclusions of reason were the direct contradictory to each other ; no one, however, was bound to choose between them ; both might exist together in the mind, without the necessity of coming to any conclusion.³ In other words, they believed nothing what-

² Intellectus separatus secundum nostræ fidei documenta est ipse Deus, qui est Creator animæ, unde ab ipso anima humana lumen intellectuale participat. Qu. 79, art. 4.

³ The Averrhoists said, " Per rationem concludo de necessitate, quod intellectus est unus numero ; firmiter tamen teneo oppositum per fidem." St. Thomas de Unitate Intellectus.

ever ; truth was, with them, a mere matter of words and of system. The categories were their creed, and they put their faith in the abstractions of their own mind.

In this state of things, when men had lost the first principles of their faith, it was useless to appeal to their religiousness, as St. Bernard had done. St. Thomas set himself to place faith and reason in right relation to each other. The intellect, he said, was a sacred gift of God, and could never really be contrary to the truth.⁴ In its own sphere it was perfect, but the field of faith was a vast system lying beyond the sphere of intellect. And this system was out of the jurisdiction of reason, so that it could pronounce nothing on the matter. If an unbeliever, therefore, attacked the faith, reason was of use in answering his objections, but it could do no more. If he persisted in unbelief, nothing could be done with him, for the believer and the infidel could then have no common ground to argue upon. But though the intellect is powerless as an organ for the discovery of the faith, yet it may serve as the expression of the doctrines conveyed by revelation. Faith no more excludes reason, than grace does nature;⁵ and divine truths, when received into the human mind, must take the shape of human ideas and of human words.

⁴ *Quamvis veritas fidei Christianæ humanæ rationis capacitatem excedat, hæc tamen quæ ratio naturaliter indita habet huic veritati contraria esse non possent. Contra Gen. 1, 7.*

⁵ *Sacra doctrina disputat contra negantem sua principia argumentando quidem si adversarius aliquid concedat eorum quæ per divinam revelationem habentur. Si vero adversarius nihil credat eorum quæ divinitus revelantur non remanet amplius via ad probandum articulos fidei per rationes.—Utitur sacra doctrina ratione humana non ad probandam fidem sed ad manifestandum aliqua alia quæ traduntur in hac doctrina. Cum enim gratia non tollat naturam sed perficiat, oportet quod naturalis ratio subserviat fidei. Qu. 1, art. 8.*

Thus St. Thomas conceived that the great truths of revelation might be expressed in terms of reason, that the faith might be systematized and presented as one vast whole, consisting of parts in harmony with each other. Theology is man's knowledge of God as He graciously reveals Himself, and, though it is divine in its origin, it may be treated as human, and be presented as a science, of which the different parts appear as deductions one from another, though they were not so conveyed to the mind. In order to effect this, he took the terms of Aristotle's philosophy, partly because it was then taught in the schools, partly because it was true, in the sense in which the subject matter is capable of truth, that is, it is a scientific arrangement of facts and a successful classification of the ideas of the human mind.

This, then, was the work which St. Thomas did for the Church, and the way in which he restored health to the schools of the thirteenth century. Any system is powerful, from the fact that it is a system. It has an air of reality, like a fortified place with continuous walls and bastions. And so even the absurdities of Averrhoes were believed, because they were clothed in scientific language. But when, in the *Summa* of St. Thomas, Christianity had appeared in all its awful oneness, the unreality of its pantheistic antagonist was visible at once.

The thirteenth century, then, after all these dangers and perplexities, closed with a signal triumph for Christianity; but it was not won without much pain and weariness. And in this imperfect sketch of the great struggle which was going on in Christendom, many a weary combat which was taking place in

various parts of it has been left out. Hardly anything has been said of England, and, now that we have taken a view of the whole state of things on the Continent, we will proceed to show the part which England's Saints had in the mighty contest.

LIFE OF

St. Richard of Chichester.

CHAPTER I.

RICHARD IN THE SCHOOLS.

AMONG the Saints of God are to be found men and women of every class and mode of life, soldiers and monks, kings and hermits, mothers of families and holy virgins. In that vast assembly are practical men as well as contemplative men. And the reason of this is that the character of Saints vary with the wants of the Church in every age. It has been observed that about the middle of the twelfth century, the leading churchmen of the day were generally men of business and legists. This became more marked as the state of things, commonly called the middle ages, became more systematized; and in the beginning of the thirteenth century, it is plain that the great men of the Church, the cardinals and bishops, were mostly chosen out of this class. Among these also God has His Saints; while the Cistercian movement spiritualized the Church by drawing men away from the world, and setting them up as lights upon a hill, the next century produced men who conquered the world while they remained in it.

Of this class is the Saint whose life we are now to write.

In the little town of Wyche, on the banks of the quiet stream of the Salwarp, and near the borders of Fakenham forest, dwelt two orphans, the sons of Richard and Alicia de Wyche.¹ Their parents had died when they were young, and had left them heirs to the lands of Burford, in the neighbourhood. These boys and at least one sister were left under guardians who probably neglected their property, for when the eldest came of age he found that every thing had gone to ruin. He might have sunk down in despair had it not been for his younger brother. Richard, for such was his name, had, up to this time, been remarkable for a grave and serious character altogether above his years. He was a great bookworm, and when other children were at play he would be sitting down quietly at his studies. None as yet guessed how much energy there was in the boy; his brother, however, who came closer to him and saw that Richard was a child of unusual and spotless purity, loved and looked up to him, notwithstanding the apparent apathy of his character. And now that he entered on his waste and uncultivated lands, he naturally turned to his younger brother for advice and support. Richard bade him trust in God, who is the Father of the fatherless, and not only gave him words of comfort, but took the whole management of his brother's affairs into his

¹ In Dallaway's *Sussex*, St. Richard's name is said to have been Chandos, because his brother is so called in his will. This, however, is very uncertain, for his brother is called Richard Bachdene in Bocking's life. Bocking also mentions a relation of the Saint, called Nicholas de Wyche. The *History of Worcestershire* calls him Burford, from the lands of that name held by his family, which are said still to exist. His sister is mentioned by him in his will. St. Richard was probably born in the year 1197.

hands. He had as yet shown no taste for farming, but he applied his mind vigorously to it, and soon possessed himself of all the mysteries of agriculture. He set to work, and drained marshy pools and cleared away tangled weeds and thick brushwood, till all men acknowledged that the quiet student was a very practical farmer. The township of Wyche was celebrated for its plentiful salt-springs, and the lands around were covered with extensive plantations to supply fuel for the saltworks. A part of Richard's occupation was therefore, probably, the cutting down and carting wood to keep up the fires in the pans. But whatever his work was, he did it effectually and thoroughly.

All men praised him, and his brother regarded him with reverence as a superior being ; but none of them knew the extent of the sacrifice which he was making. While he was handling the hoe or the axe in the field, his thoughts were very far from Wyche ; from his childhood he had longed for knowledge, and he had desired to go to some of the universities, the fame and the importance of which were daily increasing. It was, therefore, a great self-denial to him, when he tied himself down to all the dry details of husbandry from affection to his brother. But while he was at this work, his character deepened with the anxieties and the business of life, and what was at first a thirst for knowledge became an earnest desire to devote himself to the glory of God. Our Lord rewarded him for his dutifulness to his elder brother by giving him a desire for Christian perfection. The Gospel, while it proclaims a reward to those who give up the endearments of home, has certainly not depreciated, but highly exalted, the ties of natural affection ; and, if we knew more of the souls of men, we might find that those Saints who have quitted their homes

for the service of God, are precisely those whom God has rewarded by greater measures of His grace for their self-denying love in the bosom of their families. At least it was so in Richard's case ; while his brother's fields were blooming beneath his care, he was secretly determining to leave all and to give himself up to a life of privation and of celibacy for Christ's sake.

He kept this resolution a profound secret, and it was only known at the time when he was forced to make a final choice between the world and Christ. So grateful was his brother for Richard's care, that he suddenly proposed to him to put the whole of the estates into his hands. At the same time, a noble and beautiful lady was offered to him in marriage. These two offers coming at the same time, at once determined him, and he told his brother that now the estates no longer needed his superintendence, and he would execute his long-cherished scheme of quitting all he loved on earth to prepare himself for the priesthood. " So," says an old writer, " he left his friends, his estates, and the maiden who might have been his bride, and went to Oxford."

It may seem to have required but little self-denial to plant himself for a few years in a pleasant seat of learning. But middle-age Oxford is by no means the classic alma mater of modern time. Not one of its many colleges was then standing ; only one of the many spires which now shoot up amongst its elms and chesnut-trees was then in existence. If a man had placed himself in those days on one of the hills which overhang Oxford, and had looked down through an opening in the thick woods of the royal chace of Bagley, he would have seen, between that and the opposite forest-crowned hill of Shotover, a wide plain, intersected by the broad stream of the Isis. In one part cut up into numerous islands by the branches of

the river, and by the channel of its tributary, the Cherwell, he would see the walls and fortifications of Oxford; on the side nearest him arose the dark Saxon mass of St. Frideswide's Abbey, with its high spire, and near it the quadrangle of Oseney Abbey, occupying one of the islands; not far off was another islet in St. Ebbe's parish, soon to be covered by the Dominican schools, while over all frowned the stout keep of St. George's castle. But if the warlike aspect of the city of Oxford, with the wild forest of Shotover and the mazy channels and deep pools of the river, where now are broad streets, mark off old Oxford from new, much more does the uproarious clerk of ancient times differ from our peaceful students. When the alarum of St. Martin's announced that the townsfolk were stirring, and the bell of St. Mary called the students to arms, then the scholar threw away his books and snatched up his cross-bow. The combat which ensued was not a riot, but a battle in the streets; while the gates of the city were guarded to prevent the men from the county from entering to help the town. Such was the hatred between the parties, that murders were at times committed from holiday wantonness; and a student passing on a May-day evening near Carfax, stood a chance of loss of life from the rough handling of the townsmen. And then, amidst the many thousand students crowded into this narrow space, were many ribald clerks, as they were called, who lived in Oxford to indulge their idle and dissolute habits. There were riots not only with the town, but between the strong and hardy Northern students and their more refined Southern fellows. Besides which, there was not a party in the realm which had not its representatives at Oxford; and, according to an old proverb, the noise of a riot there, was the precursor of a gathering storm from one end of England to

the other. King and pope were alike rudely treated in this seditious little world. In the war of the barons, the university was against the king; but especially was Oxford the representative of the Anglican dislike of ultramontanes,⁹ which was then breaking out. Although it had nothing to do with doctrine, and was only a matter of pounds, shillings, and pence, yet it was a spark which was easily kindled to a flame. Witness the cardinal legate, who was saluted with cries of "Where is the usurer, the simoniacal thief!" and who escaped in disguise, and never drew bridle till he reached Abingdon." To finish the picture, the uproar of riotous banquets might be heard in the streets when some student passed his responsions;¹ and often might be met the noisy band of students, with banners, masks, and garlands, celebrating the feast-day of some favourite Saint.

It was in this uproarious town that Richard now took up his abode; and it is refreshing to dwell upon him and to think of him as the representative of many a peaceful, religious clerk, in this vast assemblage of many nations. When first he went to Oxford, he might have appeared among his fellow-students as a man in easy circumstances. Our Lord, however, in order to crown him with that beatitude pronounced over the poor, suffered him to be deprived of his property. He had entrusted it to the care of a priest, who was faithless to his trust, and wasted what he possessed. Richard, however, contentedly took his place among the poor ones of the earth. If he ever felt resentment against the man who had injured him, it soon disappeared, for in after times he relieved the wants of this faithless priest. It must have

⁹ See the use of *transmontanus* and *transalpinus* in Matthew of Paris, in ann. 1229, p. 362, and 1238, p. 469.

¹ Bulæus, vol. 3, 82.

been a sore trial to his patience, for henceforth he lived on the pittance which he could derive from his friends, and the lot of a poor scholar at Oxford was a very hard one. There were some noble and rich men among them ; but by far the greater part lived on exhibitions,² or on the small pittance which they derived from their homes. As there were no colleges, they lived in scattered lodging-houses up and down the town. Some of these belonged to the religious houses in or near Oxford, but most of them were the property of the burghers ; and the high price which they exacted for them was one of the many causes of heart-burning between the Town and Gown.³ And wretched enough they were at the time of which we are writing, many of them being merely thatched or wooden houses.⁴ In the better sort of these a master, with a great many scholars, lived together, and the community was called a Hall ; but it was in one of the poorest of them that Richard lived, with two other clerks as badly off as himself. They had but one gown⁵ between them, so that when one of them had gone out to lecture, the other two sat at home in an under-garment, and could not go out till he returned. Their fare was of the coarsest kind ; bread and a little wine and soup, formed their scanty meal ; on highdays and holidays only had they either fish or meat. They were up in the morning before day-break at their books ; and when the great bell of St. Mary's rung, they must away to the schools to

² Wood in ann. 1246.

³ Wood in ann. 1214, 1216, 1235.

⁴ It appears from Wood's Annals in ann. 1190, that many houses were built of stone in consequence of a fire ; but, from a notice on the year 1235, that most of the houses in the city were still generally thatched.

⁵ Cappa.

lecture ; at mid-day were the disputations ; in the evening they repeated to their master the morning lecture. And then, when all was over, they lay down each on his hard pallet to take the student's hasty sleep. Truly the fruits of the tree of knowledge have ever been bitter to mankind ; the labour of thought wears away the body and soul of the student. And if dimness of eye and paleness of cheek are the marks of the ambitious scholar in the comfortable rooms of an Oxford college, what must have been the sinking of heart with which the poor middle-age student returned in a winter's night to his cold chamber, and laid his tired head on his hard pillow ! Yet Richard afterwards used to look back with a sorrowing pleasure to this peaceful time, and to say that it was the happiest part of his life. There is of course something joyful, notwithstanding the labour of study, in the expansion of the faculties, in the perception of truth coming on the soul, not in the shape of a conclusion, but like a flash of light in a dark place. All this is, of course, a source of pleasure, but it is not enough to keep up a uniform cheerfulness. The details of science are dry and tasteless, and the mind soon flags, for discoveries do not break upon it every day, and excitement cools. Richard, however, was never weary ; his spirits did not flag even amidst the privations and in all the humiliations which poverty brings with it. "Never would he, either by himself or his friends," says Bocking,⁶ "petition for a benefice. And when his companions, or any others about him, talked about obtaining revenues and benefices, he used to tell them, 'Let us take no care for such matters ; if we serve God faithfully, He will sufficiently provide for us. He whom we serve

⁶ c. 5. ap. Boll. p. 297.

will reward us more than we deserve.' Even with that small pittance that was allowed him, he was always cheerful and happy, and cared so little about worldly things, that he let others manage even the small means which he possessed." He rejoiced in his poverty, because it reduced him to the condition of his Lord upon earth.

It is not known precisely to what master Richard applied for instruction. At that time, when the university system was so unformed, the students chose what master they would. When once a man had obtained his master's degree, he opened a school, and his success depended entirely on his popularity. Bachelors always endeavoured to obtain a large assembly of scholars to accompany them to their public exercises for their master's degree, and the promise of a dinner soon collected together a number of worthless and hungry students; but, unless the master was a man of merit, his honorary scholars soon quitted him, and his schools were often empty. Indeed so great was the license, that many so-called students never went to any master at all, till at length a law was made⁷ to force every scholar to put himself under a master within fifteen days after his arrival in Oxford, otherwise he should not be considered as a member of the university, nor be entitled to the privilege of exemption from secular authority, which was extended to all clerks, and which was the bait which attracted these varlets, as they are called, to Oxford. The schools were all private property, or else they belonged to various orders or religious houses, who either used them for the disputations of their own members, or let them out to others. Even the little nunnery of St. Mary Littlemore, which lay

⁷ Wood in ann. 1231.

almost hidden in the fields near Oxford, derived a revenue from its schools ; though, of course, the good abbess and the sisters had little enough to do with logic, or the decretals. At the time when Richard went to Oxford, a master was in repute there who had a great influence over his future life, and it is probable that he frequented his schools during his undergraduate life ; this was the famous Grosseteste,⁸ afterwards bishop of Lincoln.

The time when Richard first came to Oxford was a critical period, for the scholastic method was beginning to gain ground there. It is curious to see how slowly the continental movement in philosophy crossed the channel. While Paris was convulsed by Abelard, Oxford was looking on in silence. Robert Pullen,⁹ its great doctor at that time, wrote a compendium of theology, which, from the favour with which St. Bernard looked upon its author, evidently did not belong to the new school of teaching. One indication of a similar movement exists in the publication of a book, treating on the Holy Trinity in the scholastic method, in the first year of the 13th century, but it seems to have scandalised the Oxford schools. Again, Grosseteste was distinguished rather for his practical knowledge than for the speculative tendencies of his teaching.¹ He was fond of Greek learning, and his skill in

⁸ The time of Grosseteste's mastership in Oxford seems to have been about 1220, for it was then that the Franciscan schools were set up, in which he lectured, according to the *Annals of Lanercost*, ap. *Ang. Sac.*

⁹ Not enough has been thought of this Robert, who was the first English cardinal. Cave says that he restored Oxford, which was ruined by scholastic theology ; but every other author attributes its decay to the troubled state of England, which is much more likely. *v. St. Bernard*, Ep. 205, 362.

¹ Grosseteste is said to have commented on Aristotle's posterior analytics. It is not however the mere lecturing on Aristotle, but the

physical science won him the reputation of a magician. Some years after he showed the bent of his mind by warning the university not to quit the ways of their ancestors for novel methods, and to teach theology by comments on the holy scriptures.² It was long before the practical and conservative mind of England got over its dread of the new philosophy. Besides which, it soon received a check from the arrival of certain strangers, who always exercised a material influence over the schools. In 1222, the Black Friars were first seen in Oxford,³ and about the same time came their brethren the Grey Friars; and what was the primary effect of their coming may be seen from a story told of the first Franciscans, who set up a school on the banks of the Isis. It is said, that after they had been set up some years, brother Agnellus of Pisa, the Franciscan superior, came to visit them. The scholars got up a special disputation to honour their visitor, and the question proposed was on the existence of God. The Grey brother listened for some time, but at length he started up, and broke abruptly on the disputants. "Alas! fathers all, ignorant men are up," he said,

application of his philosophy to theology, which characterised the new school of teaching. v. Huber. vol. 1. p. 69.

² That Grosseteste refers to scholasticism is not evident till it is known that the name by which the followers of the old method were called was *Biblici*, while the schoolmen were called *Sententiatocs*. The method of the old teachers was to comment on the Bible, and to prove all that they asserted by the authority of the Fathers. The schoolmen commented on the Sentences of Peter Lombard, and brought out the truth by disputation. The Book of the Sentences itself was the link between the two systems, as it consisted of a number of quotations from the Fathers, drawn up systematically. Bulæus, vol. 3, 657.

³ Nic. Trivetius in ann. 1222, ap. d'Achery, *Spicil. Wading Annals*, vol. 1, 364.

“taking heaven by force ; and men who had never learnt letters, love with the strictest bonds of charity the God in whom they firmly believe ; meanwhile, the masters of this our school, brethren who have vowed poverty, who every day feel the eye of God’s providence upon them, are wrangling whether there be a God !” And so he ordered them to send for the books of the decretals, and henceforth to quit metaphysics and to take to canon law. And this action of the friar is the more significant, because canon law was precisely the refuge of the men who were frightened at the progress of the new philosophy. There was something definite and tangible in the distinct decrees of the canons, which suited the minds of practical men ; and though the jealousy of English kings drove away its first professor, and though churchmen at times exclaimed against the detriment done to theology, yet the decretals kept their ground, and progressed so much that Law became a separate faculty. Nay, it was the cause that dogmatic theology became a faculty by itself ; for, when one branch of theology was separated from arts, the other naturally followed.⁴ Now, which side did Richard take in this struggle between the old and new theology ? Though but few records are left of this part of his life, the course which his studies took indicates plainly enough the bent of his mind, for he finished by going to Bologna to study canon law. The facts recorded of this part of his life before he went to Italy,⁵ comprising as it does six or seven years’ of painful

⁴ Huber. vol. 1. p. 369.

⁵ There are so few data for the chronology of St. Richard’s life, that it is impossible to get beyond conjecture. He must have studied six years before he took his master’s degree, as appears from Bulæus, 3, 81. After that he was bound to lecture two years more. Besides this, he remained for seven years at Bologna. If he came back to

struggles with poverty, are very few and scanty. It is only known that after some time spent at Oxford, as did most students who wished to perfect themselves, he went to Paris. There he took his bachelor's degree, but what master he assisted in his lectures cannot now be ascertained. He became a master at Paris, and then returned to Oxford, where he opened a school. Of this short sojourn in England, the only record which remains is an account of the manner in which God preserved his servant from imminent danger. He was one day at a feast given by a young master who had just taken his degree, when one of the servants came to say, that a man was without, wishing to speak to master Richard. His host went out and found a beautiful youth on horseback at the door, whom he courteously invited in, saying that he might speak to Richard at the banquet. The youth however refused, and said that the master must at once come out to him. Richard rose, and to his surprise, when he reached the door, saw no one whatever in the street ; the youth had gone away. On returning to the feast he found all the guests in consternation, for in his absence a stone had fallen from the ceiling on the spot where he had been sitting. Richard's spotless life was already well known in Oxford, and it was always thought that God had sent his angel to deliver his servant.

For seven long years did Richard remain at Bologna ; where he had constantly before him the blue outline of the Apennines instead of the woody tops of the low hills which bound the horizon of Oxford. This seems a long period, and it appears a long way for an Englishman to go to learn law. But it was a part of the magnificent policy of the

Oxford about 1235 (as is likely from his being chancellor about that time), he probably first entered the university about 1220.

Popes to bind all Christendom together by one ecclesiastical code, or rather it was the natural result of that state of things in which Rome was the fountain of justice and the great court of appeal for the Church. The tendency to reduce to system what had before been floating custom, which had begun, as has been observed, in the middle of the last century, had gone on with all its advantages and all its inconveniences. Eugenius III. had ordered the decretals to be read at Bologna; Innocent III. himself was the greatest canonist of his time, and Peter of Benevento collected together his decrees by his order. About the very time that Richard was on the point of quitting Italy, Gregory IX. employed St. Raymond of Pennafort⁶ to draw up the decretals, and to complete Gratian's imperfect books. It was the policy of the Popes to encourage the canon law; for by the side of the law of the Church, partly its rival, partly its model, was rising up the formidable *jus Cæsareum*, the civil law of the empire.⁷ Bologna was thus a most important place, for both popes and emperors sent their laws and decretals thither⁸ as it were to register them, that they might there be taught to the crowds of students who flocked thither from all parts of Europe. Frederic II. found that Bologna was too much in the hands of the Church for his purpose, and endeavoured to transfer the university to Naples, but he utterly failed.

Richard therefore found himself in a most important part of the Christian world, when he was at Bologna. It numbered ten thousand students in its university, and the most celebrated professors were there. It was

⁶ According to Tiraboschi, vol. 4, 304, in 1234.

⁷ The decretals were drawn up in five books to imitate the Pandects. Tiraboschi, vol. 4, 301.

⁸ Tiraboschi, 4, 55.

by no means, however, a peaceful place at the time when Richard was at his studies. Bologna was the life and soul of the league against the emperor. The war-chariot of the Bolognese was often out, and its bravest drawn up about it, in its wars with its Ghibelline neighbour, Modena. Frederic was preparing a war with Italy, and the Bolognese were arming themselves to meet him, and new-modelling their militia.⁹ While Richard was there also, he had an opportunity of watching the power of the new Order of Dominican friars. John of Vicenza was there, the representative of peace amongst the deadly feuds of Italy. Bologna was his head-quarters, and its citizens followed him with the cross and with banners on his mission of peace. He went about reconciling enemies to each other, and at length on the banks of the Adige he preached to an innumerable multitude, on a stated day ; and such was his eloquence that Guelph and Ghibelline threw themselves into each other's arms, and a peace was concluded by the rival cities throughout Lombardy. Alas ! it did not last long, and before Richard had left Italy, blood had been shed again. Still, throughout the whole of the contest the law studies went on, and Richard could go on reading the Pandects with the din of arms about his ears. Law had become too necessary to be interrupted. If any one had a cause at Rome, he must have lawyers to plead it. A Bolognese lawyer was not long before employed against a king of England. A knowledge of canon law was the way to wealth and honour. The stately maxims of ecclesiastical law suited well the calm and serious mind of Richard. It was no dry study, for canon law was the embodying of the practical principles of Christianity, and showed at one

⁹ Dulcinus, b. 5, ap. Burmanni thesaur. tom. 12.

view the whole of the working and organization of the Holy Catholic Church. Richard made such progress that his master, who was old and infirm, entrusted to him the instruction of his pupils. Besides this, he won the heart of the old man, who offered to give him his daughter in marriage, and to make him his heir. Richard might have been pardoned, if he hesitated, for it seemed ungrateful to reject his master's kindness ; but he remembered that his vocation was to be a priest, and he fled from the temptation, and quitted Bologna.

He returned to England about the year 1135, and on his reappearance at Oxford was received with open arms, as befitted a doctor in canon law ; and shortly afterwards he was called upon to fill the office of chancellor of the university. His functions were most important ; first he had the power of granting degrees. In doing this, he was of course necessarily dependent on the report of the masters, as to the persons on whom he conferred them. With the bachelors he probably had little to do, for the baccalaureat was hardly as yet a degree. A bachelor was little more than a probationer, who was teaching in the school of a master in order to be approved for the higher degree. On approval, he was presented to the chancellor by the master under whom he served. Still the university had not so far grown into a system as to supersede the chancellor's personal inquiry into the candidate's qualifications ; and, as few scholars actually proceeded to the degree, the number would not be too large to render it impossible. Besides which, there were as yet no colleges to be answerable to the chancellor for the character of the scholar, so that his function in this respect was the highest in Oxford. Secondly, the chancellor was the judge of the university. He punished all riotous scholars, and the king now and

then would lend him his prison to confine the delinquents. His police was at this time very imperfect, so that a great deal more depended on his personal character than on the physical force of the university.¹ Lastly, he was the great law adviser of the university; all contracts passed through his hands, and he kept the seal of the university, so that the whole of the business of Oxford, as it may be called, required his presence. In early times, when rights are undefined and there are few precedents, deeds well signed and sealed, though but bits of parchment, are very important things. Witness the trembling of the monks when a king bade them send in their charters for confirmation; it was a sure way of extracting money from them.² Hence the growing importance of the officer who could write out such deeds, and still more of him who kept the seal, which put the finishing stroke to the transaction. In this capacity the chancellor was often brought in contact with the town, as the chief legal authority of the university.

The multiplicity of Richard's functions was such that his place was no sinecure. And the labour of it was increased from the fact that as Oxford was not an episcopal city, he was much more independent than the functionaries who corresponded to him at Paris. His functions were there divided between the chancellor of the bishop and the chancellor of the abbey of St. Genevieve, officers not appointed by the university, and often opposed to it. But in Oxford the masters had so much to do with the appointment of their chancellor that Richard is said to have been elected by them.³ His office had not grown out of the chancellor of the diocese; and though

¹ v. Wood's *Fasti* in ann. 1231.

² *Matt. Par.* in ann. 1227.

³ *Chronicle of Wikes* in ann. 1288.

he was confirmed by the bishop of Lincoln, the masters had the right of electing him.

The precise time⁴ when Richard left Oxford is not known, but he was soon called away to a higher sphere. Two prelates at the same time had thoughts of making him their chancellor. His old master, Robert Grosseteste, was now bishop of Lincoln, and therefore diocesan of Oxford. To him had belonged the confirmation of his election to the chancellorship of the university, and he kept his eye on Richard, and when the chancellorship of his diocese fell vacant determined to give him the appointment. Before he could do so, however, St. Edmund, the Archbishop of Canterbury, had already made him his chancellor. How many things in this life are decided by little differences of time and place ! It looks like a lucky chance that the archbishop should have forestalled the bishop in Richard's appointment, and yet it exercised an influence on him for all eternity. If he had been thrown in contact with the courageous but rough-spoken Grosseteste, his character would have been cast in a different mould from that which it received from the saintly and no less courageous Edmund.

⁴ It appears from Wood, that the chancellors for the years 1235-6-7 are not known ; it was, therefore, during one of these that St. Richard exercised the office. That it was not in 1242 is evident, for he must have been St. Edmund's chancellor long before that.

CHAPTER II.

RICHARD IN EXILE.

RICHARD's new office, though it made him an ecclesiastic, did not involve more than some of the minor Orders. It is easy to describe Richard's employment in a few words. Strangely enough he had reversed the order of things, and had now taken the office out of which his former employment of chancellor at Oxford had grown. The chancellor of the diocese issued licenses for teaching, and appointed the master of the cathedral school; and from this function it was that the university chancellors derived the right of granting degrees; and though, as Oxford was not a cathedral town, that officer was not identical with the diocesan chancellor, still it was by a sort of analogy that the bishop's functions of appointing teachers to the schools of the diocese were vested in him. Besides his power of granting licenses, Richard in his new capacity had the care of the cathedral library. His highest functions¹ were, however, that of keeper of the episcopal seal, and of judge of the ecclesiastical court. Originally a chancellor had been a mere notary, but it is easy to see how,

¹ St. Richard seems to have been more than the chancellor of the chapter described in the Lichfield statutes. He is called *Cancellarius curiæ*, Chancellor of the Archbishop's Court.

when business multiplied, the officer who drew out the instruments by which the bishop's pleasure was made known or his license granted, would become in effect the dispenser of his powers. As the bishop's powers are laid down by certain determinate forms and are administered through law, the chancellor must be a learned canonist and civilian. In this way all things relating to wills and contracts come before him judicially. All letters demissory; resignations of benefices; oaths tendered to new incumbents; licenses to preach and hear confessions; all special powers granted to nunneries; in a word, all that related to episcopal jurisdiction passed through his hands.² Another office, which belonged rather to secular chancellors, but which probably came into Richard's functions, was to assist in legislation as well as in the administration of the law.³ The chancellor of the empire, for instance, took care that the emperor's constitutions and rescripts were consistent with themselves and with the principles of law; and, doubtless, Richard assisted St. Edmund in framing the constitutions which are called after his name. In fact, like all other chancellors, he was to be the principal authority in all legal matters, and to assist his superior's decisions by his learning.

This is but a summary description of Richard's multifarious duties; but it would be possible to dwell

² Vide Fifth Council of Milan, 14, 15, which, though of no authority for the times here described, gives a good notion of the duties of an ecclesiastical chancellor.

³ Bulæus's description of a chancellor is an officer *cujus eæ sunt primæ partes videre ut nulla Principis constitutio, nulla sanctio, &c. non e republica atque etiam e dignitate reipublicæ, principalique exeant.* Vide Van Espen, part i. tit. 23. *Hic est qui leges cancellat iniquas et mandata pii principis æqua facit,* says John of Salisbury.

longer upon them without giving a just idea of this part of his life. They were but the external part of it, for he became not only the chancellor, but the intimate friend of St. Edmund. His life is, at this time, merged in that of the Saint; and nothing is told of him but that he stood by the illustrious sufferer to the last. It seems almost a rule of God's Providence, that Saints should be sent out in pairs to support each other in this bad world, as the disciples were sent out two and two at the first. James and John, Peter and Andrew, Martha and Mary, appear together; and when the ties of earthly relationship are suspended, and brothers are to meet no more on this side the grave, then often their place is supplied in another way, as Peter had Mark, and Paul had Luke for a companion. But this is especially the case in those Saints whose work lies in the world; and never did any want help more than St. Edmund. Alas! for the gentle theologian when he was set up on high on the archiepiscopal seat of Canterbury. It was nothing to have bold barons, rough, iron-clad men to contend with; but when there were sharp-witted canonists meeting him at every turn, and as often as he talked in eloquent words of the liberties and the wrongs of the Church of Christ, blocking him up with a canon or a scrap from the Pandects, he much wanted Richard at his elbow to parry the lawyer's thrusts with the same bright sharp weapons. And when St. Edmund crossed the Alps, and lo! there were his quick opponents, not running straightforward, but doubling and turning to get the better of him at the court of Rome; right glad was he of a letter from his faithful chancellor at home, to cheer him up and to let him know that he had a friend at Canterbury to look after his interests in his absence. After all,

in such a contest, Richard's friendship was even more valuable than his legal knowledge. It was not the bestial hyena-like rage of William Rufus, nor was it the fury of Henry, crafty and cruel as the spotted panther, that he had to oppose ; these would have been noble opponents compared to the weak-minded, vacillating Henry. And then, above all, there was the miserable expectation of hope deferred ; the waiting in vain for the tardy decisions from Rome ; the coldness of the legate ; and the faint-heartedness of men high in authority. Other men had their work appointed them in the midst of terrible storms ; but St. Edmund had to toil on, like a traveller who faces the keen and cutting east wind, or the inexorable down-pouring dropping of November's rain. In all this Richard was by his side, clasping his hand tight and cheering him on in this dull, black winter. "In all things," says Ralph Bocking, "Richard had an eye to the peace and quiet of his lord and archbishop, who he knew had chosen out and loved the good part of Mary. The archbishop inwardly rejoiced that by the discreet fondness and fond discretion of his chancellor, he was saved from the tumult of outward business ; the chancellor was glad to be taught by the holiness and heavenly conversation of his lord. Each leaned upon the other, the holy on the holy ; master on disciple ; disciple on master ; father on son ; son on father. To one who looked on them religiously, they seemed like the two cherubims of glory, stretching over the ark of the Lord, that is, the Church of Canterbury, each with his holy eye gazing intently on the other, touching each other with wings of mutual love ; their faces, that is, their wills, ever turned to the Seat of propitiation, to Him who is the propitiation for our sins."

And when the struggle was over, and the Saint, wearied out with care and anxiety, took refuge in Pontigny, Richard followed him faithfully. At last the blessed Edmund died, and Richard turned away from Pontigny with a feeling of desolation and a sinking of the heart. "Orphan of such a father," says his historian, "he would perchance have transgressed the bounds of religious grief, if he had not feared to murmur against the Providence of God, and if he had not believed that his venerable father had exchanged this wretched life for an immortal state of happiness." The death of his friend had left a sad blank in his existence; for his whole life had been wrapped up in him for many years. His eye had ever been fixed on him to anticipate his least wishes before he uttered them, and his ears had ever been open to catch every word that fell from his lips. There was even a melancholy pleasure in smoothing his pillow in his sickness; but now that he was gone, there seemed to be nothing left for him to do upon earth.

He was, however, mistaken; there were still many years of a weary pilgrimage to go through before he was called away. By degrees the violence of his grief wore off, but it became a deep-seated principle in his soul. There are some sorrows which alter and transfuse the whole man, as a furnace changes the substances which pass through it. Henceforth his life was one long remembrance of St. Edmund. Resignation came to him in the memory of those words, among the last that the Saint had uttered, "Thy will be done." He thought of the Saint's affection for him, and of that clause in his will by which it appeared that Richard was in his last earthly thoughts, "We leave our cup to our beloved chancellor, whom we have long held in our heart." And then he thought that one who had been privileged to

come so close to a great Saint had an account to render for his use of the talent. He set himself therefore to imitate the model which had thus come before him. When he recollected the angelic contemplation of the Saint and his intense devotion in the midst of his wearing cares, he bethought himself that there was something better to be learned than canon and civil law, so he betook himself to a Dominican convent at Orleans to study theology.

He here found himself in an atmosphere very different from that in which he had lived at Oxford or Bologna. It was different even from that of Pontigny. Farming in all its branches was the order of the day among the Cistercians; and if they quitted the abbey-gates, it was on horseback, on their way to some grange belonging to the monastery; there were granaries and stables in plenty, for the monks lived on the produce of their farms. But among the Black Friars, those who issued from the house, went forth on foot to preach in the open air at the foot of a cross in some lonely, out-lying parish, or else in the cathedral of some town which contained a university. Some even might be seen taking their departure for distant lands to preach the gospel to the Saracen or the Tartar. The brethren possessed no lands, and laid up no more corn than was necessary for their present consumption. Instead of the hoe, the plough, and the reaping-hook, the tools of the Dominican were, the pen, the ink-horn, and the copy-book, the books of the Sentences, and the Bible with glosses. In the school of the novices were going on Latin grammar and logic, and the sound of disputations might be heard in the cloister. This was all very unlike the houses of St. Bernard; but the needs of the Church had changed, and the Dominican had stopped up the gap left by the Cistercian. The

two Orders seemed to touch on Albigenian ground ; and St. Dominic stepped into the breach in which the body of St. Peter of Castelnau had fallen. But the spiritual and inward life of the two Orders was the same. St. Bernard's book on "the love of God,"² and on "the Steps of Pride," lay side by side with Peter Lombard in the library. "The novices were warned never to be so eager for knowledge as to neglect those things which pertain to religion, virtue, and charity. If strangers come to mingle in the disputations, they are not to be rudely set down,³ and care is to be taken not to offend them. There was the same love for meditation in both Orders. At every turn of his busy life,⁴ whether trudging along the road in his vocation as preacher, or walking in his black mantle in the convent garden ; whether on his knees in the church of his house at home, or in some distant land with Turks and heathens about him ; the friar was to be ever meditating on the great mysteries of the faith. The character which the Order aimed at forming in the Dominican was the same as is pictured in the books of St. Bernard and St. Aelred. "Novices are to be instructed," says Humbert, the fourth master, "that they be not anxious to see visions and to work miracles, for these profit little to salvation, and men are often deceived in such things. But let them rather look to doing good deeds, which profit to salvation. Again, if they have not those heavenly consolations which they hear that others have, let them not be downcast, but be assured that our Father, who looks solely to the uprightness of the will, sometimes withdraws these for our good, in His loving-kindness."⁵

² Brockie, vol. iv. p. 164.

⁴ Brockie, p. 165.

³ Brockie, vol. iii. p. 173.

⁵ Brockie, p. 165.

This, then, was the sort of community into which Richard retired after St. Edmund's death. Orleans was a university and an important one, for it was from thence that Cambridge derived its first professor of Aristotle's philosophy; and Orleans received all the learning of Paris in the voluntary secession of the masters and scholars in 1229. Richard had, however, little to do with the university; he did not want a degree, for a doctor in canon and civil law in Bologna had no need of graduating at Orleans. What he wanted was to be fitted for the duties of the priesthood, to receiving which his former employments had been an obstacle. What was his position in the Dominican convent does not quite appear, for he does not seem as yet to have formed a resolution of entering the Order. It is, however, probable that strangers were allowed to live in the houses of the friars, without being members of the community. The purposes for which the Order were instituted naturally brought with them great modifications of the ancient monastic system. The brethren were to go forth and make inroads into the territory of the world carrying the fiery cross with them, and gathering all men into Christ's army; while the older Orders set up the cross on high as a distant beacon, and a light upon a hill. Thus the Dominican convent was more like the head-quarters of a soldier, whose home is everywhere; while to the Cistercian the cloister was his home. In the same way the house of the Black Friar was planted in the midst of a town, while the Cistercian sat down in a secluded valley or a wild forest. The Dominican house was a place of learning; and when any famous doctor took the habit of the Order, students flocked eagerly to the schools of the convent to hear him. From all this resulted a greater mixture with the world than would

have been allowed in other Orders ; and the rule seems to have more regulations than are common in monastic constitutions for the entertainment of strangers.⁶ Especial mention is made of those guests "who are so familiar as to be considered in the light of brethren," and it was probably amongst these that Richard was received into the house.⁷

Never in his life did Richard find so much peace as at this period. Orleans was a turbulent place as well as other universities, and not long before a dissolute scholar had raised a dreadful riot in its streets ; but the noise of the world died away before it reached the peaceful house of the Dominicans. Lowly and poor as were their convents and churches, in some few respects they relaxed the stern simplicity of the first Cistercian. The crucifixes were to be of painted wood, and no jewels were to be seen about the altar, but the chalice might be of gold,⁸ and the priest for the week might wear a cope of silk, and the windows were to have a cross upon them. The garden was filled with red and white roses for the decoration of the altar, and the trees were disposed with an eye to beauty.⁹ The shrubs were placed in long, regular alleys, so that every part of the garden was pervious to sight, and no thick shade was allowed where the brethren could steal from their companions. Here Richard could walk or sit under the trees watching the grave, silent figures of the friars in their white tunics and scapulars, and large black mantles without sleeves ;

⁶ Vide Acta selecta cap. gen. ap. Martenne, Thesaurus, vol. iv. p. 1679, 20.

⁷ Brockie, 185, c. 28, circa hospites extraneos, circa mensam extraordinariam, c. 22.

⁸ Martenne, Thesaurus, vol. iv. 1677, 1680.

⁹ Ut recreationem ex decore faciant. de off. ord. p. 189, c. 35.

or else he might obtain leave to speak to some brother in the parlour for the brethren might go thither for a time to relieve weariness and to get recreation.¹

The mode of Dominican teaching at the time that Richard went to Orleans, was hardly as it was when he first knew them and their fellow-workers, the Grey Friars, at Oxford. It was still in progress and undergoing a change. St. Dominic had evidently been at first opposed to the scholastic movement. In 1221² he addressed a letter to his disciples, ordering them "to follow the divinely inspired scriptures, and ever in their studies to give their attention to what was useful, and to avoid curious questions." Again, it is said that he made little of the inventions of philosophy. A very few years, however, after the death of the Saint, John of St. Giles, a great schoolman and Parisian doctor, was won over to the Order; and the concourse of people who flocked to the convent of St. James, at Paris, obliged him to continue his public lectures. He had commented on the book of the Sentences, and followed the scholastic method, so that by a natural consequence of events, the new mode of teaching was admitted into the Dominican schools. Both methods subsisted amicably together for a long time, and the same person often gave lectures both on the Holy Scriptures and on the Sentences. Richard Fishacre³ was lecturing on the Sentences, at Oxford, about the same time that Hugh of St. Cher was distinguished as a commentator at Paris. The schools were as yet in a fluctuating state, and St. Thomas had not yet appeared; so that the Dominicans, though many a distinguished schoolman had been converted by the

¹ De off. ord. 5 c. locutorium and Const. dist. 1. 12.

² Natalis Alex. Eccl. Hist. 7. 229.

³ Trivet in ann. 1240, 1243.

burning words of their preachers, had not yet fulfilled their mission of fixing the doctrine of the schools on the basis of authority. About the very time when Richard took refuge at Orleans, disputations on strangely abstruse questions were carried on in the schools, so that the Bishop of Paris was obliged to stop the discussion of them,⁴ by condemning all who took the wrong side in the dispute. In this unsettled state of the schools, it is not wonderful that Richard followed the old method of theological teaching. The practical bent of his mind led him away from the speculative theology of the schools ; and the friar who held the doctor's chair at Orleans was one who lectured on the text of the Holy Scripture, so that here he heard lectures on nearly all the sacred books, illustrated by comments from the Fathers of the Church. In this way the vast depths of the word of God were opened to him, as far as it can be mastered by man ; and the great mysteries of the faith came before him as they shine through the dark words of the Holy Scriptures, like stars appearing one by one in the firmament, not in the seemly order of a system, as they were afterwards arranged by the Angelic or Sераphic doctor. Not but that many a term which would now be called scholastic, was used by the good Friar in his lectures, for he could not make extracts from St. Athanasius, St. Hilary, and St. Augustine, without stumbling

⁴ Matthew Paris says that the disputes on these points which were condemned were held by the Dominicans ; and it is remarkable that about the same time the general chapter of the Order commands certain condemned propositions to be erased out of the quaterni used in their schools. These quaterni were note books used by the students in which, probably, were written the subjects for disputation. It appears, then, that these propositions were not affirmed, but used as subjects for exercises. Vide Martenne, *Inst. cap. gen. in ann. 1243.*

on many instances of that magnificent phraseology in which the Church has delivered her idea of the faith. The book of the Sentences was in Richard's library;⁵ and his theology was not of that misty sort which treats as scholastic controversy all that gives to the august edifice of revealed truth the well defined outline which is too stern for most men. The definitions of canon law had already taught him that the principles of the Church were not mere subjects of disputation in the schools, but substantive and living things, which were in action about him. Now the whole of the creed of the Church was brought before him as the key to the Holy Scriptures; and he saw that the key was the right one, from the prompt way in which it unlocked the sacred treasures of those inspired books.

How long Richard remained at Orleans does not appear; it could not have been more than two or three years.⁶ It was long enough, however, to enable him to receive ordination at the hands of William de Bussi, the bishop of Orleans. The image of his beloved St. Edmund was present to his mind when he received the tremendous power of the priesthood; and he begged of the bishop to allow him to build an oratory in honour of that Saint, and there he used to offer up the holy Sacrifice of the mass. The awfulness of the charge committed to him pressed upon his soul, and he henceforth wore coarse and humble garments, and began to crucify his flesh, and to subdue it to his soul, by rigid austerities. He had hitherto been obliged to appear in the world as a great man, as befitted the chancellor of Canterbury; but now he was reduced to cast in his lot with

⁵ This appears from his will, published in Dallaway's *Sussex*.

⁶ There is a letter of his dated Orleans, April 20, 1242.

the poor ones of the earth, and to be of those who enter heaven by force. So severe were the mortifications that he used, that his health would have sunk under them, had he not reduced them at the remonstrances of his friends. Why he quitted Orleans does not appear, but the next situation in which we find him, is as a parish priest in England.⁶

⁶ It appears incidentally that he held the prebend of Dale, for Bocking relates the resignation with which he bore the news of the fraud of the man to whose care he had committed his property there. This seems to be the prebend of Deal which was attached to the priory of St. Martin's at Dover, but which at that time was in the gift of the archbishop.

CHAPTER III.

THE ELECTION.

RICHARD hoped to bury himself in his parish, and to spend the rest of his days in comforting the sick and needy, and in ministering to the spiritual wants of his flock. But there was to be no rest for him in miserable, distracted England. He had not been long in his native land when archbishop Boniface, St. Edmund's successor, called upon him to resume his functions as chancellor. Richard obeyed, but before doing so, he determined to preclude the possibility of his continuing under the yoke to his life's end, by making a vow to join the Order of his old friends, the Dominicans. His wish was to strip himself of all things for Christ's sake, to have no home, and to go about the world at the beck of his superior, carrying the Gospel into the heart of large towns, catechizing the ignorant poor, or it may be seeking martyrdom among the Turks. But God, who knows the talents which He himself has given to His servants, reserved him for a much more weary life. In 1244, after he had again appeared as chancellor in the archbishop's court, news reached him that he had been elected to the see of Chichester. No one in the world doubted the sincerity of the reluctance with which he accepted it, for it was one of those places which are not desirable pieces of preferment. It placed him in the very front of a battle in which St. Edmund had

died, broken-hearted. The circumstances which made the episcopal throne of Chichester so uncomfortable, must be given as briefly as is consistent with clearness.

Not the least portion of the slow martyrdom which the sainted archbishop had undergone, was the grief of seeing the sees of England so long lie vacant, from the interference of the king with the liberty of election. Since the blood of St. Thomas had been shed at Canterbury, the elections of bishops had been restored to the cathedral chapters. It is true that this was often a nominal restoration, by the fault of those who ought to have defended the Church. Soon after the death of St. Thomas, on one¹ occasion, Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, was heard to say that he had rather die than yield up one of the rights of the Church to the king. Hugh de Lacy, however, who was standing by, said, "There will be no need of dying, my lord. The king could not, if he wished it, find a clown in all the realm who would lay hands upon thee. The war is over if ye but keep what the martyr won." His successors did not keep it as they ought; but St. Thomas's work was not, by any means lost; for he established for ever as a principle that interference with the freedom of elections was a usurpation. Accordingly, the chapters had the choice of bishops, which ever since the conquest had belonged to the king and the bishops.² But the world only changed its tactics; there were numberless ways of frightening monks, which the kings of England duly put in practice. Henry the Third's methods were not less efficacious, though less savage than those of his ancestors. Not to have granted the chapter leave to elect would have raised a storm

¹ Giraldus Camb. ap. Wharton, Ang. Sac. 2, 430.

² Thomassin, 2 lib. 2. 34, 5, 8.

about his ears³ which he had not the courage to abide ; besides which he was not irreligious, though he was weak and vacillating. His object in impeding the elections of bishops seems to have been less to keep the revenues in his hands than to have the means of rewarding his court-favourites, though of course the escheats⁴ of rich archbishopricks and bishopricks were a tempting spoil for a profuse and needy monarch. His policy, therefore, was to cajole or to worry the chapters into receiving his nominees.⁵ He had been known to declare that if they refused, the see should remain vacant for years. An expensive and weary law suit at Rome was sure to empty the treasury of a refractory chapter, and the peculiar circumstances of the time rendered it very likely that the royal legists would gain the day. So much had the aspect of parties changed in England, that there was then a prejudice at Rome in favour of the king's demands. This was partly the result of John's submission to the Holy See, partly of the present difficulties with which the Popes were surrounded in their contest with the emperor. The legate and the king were allied, because each was necessary to the other, and though Pope Innocent once expressly recalled Otto on account of his exactions, he was preserved in his authority at the request of the king, who was uneasy that he could not contend with his barons single-handed. This ill-omened connection

³ Rex, licet diu recalcitraret, justæ postulationi (electionis) non potuit contradicere. Matth. Par. in ann. 1238.

⁴ Matth. Parr. p. 581. in ann. 1242.

⁵ It may be well to put together briefly an account of the principal elections of the time. In 1226, Richard de Marisco, bishop of Durham, died, and William, prior of Worcester, was elected in his place ; but the election was reversed at Rome at the king's instance in 1228, and Richard Poore, bishop of Salisbury, was translated to Durham.

as men said at the time,⁶ between wolf and shepherd, was not, however, to last long. Tedious as were these delays in the administration of justice, and miserable as were the results of the long vacancy of the sees, they were but the natural effects which must follow every system of law. If men choose to get rid of wager of battle and trial by ordeal, they must submit to the tediousness of suits in chancery, and even canon law, magnificent system as it is, must be subject to all the imperfections of things on earth. It is the very essence of schism to quarrel with the Church, because of the imperfections of the human instruments with which she works. But justice comes in the long run, and it is wonderful to see how the scene changes after the death of the meek Saint who fled to Pontigny, because all he could do for the Church had failed, and prayer was the only weapon left. It appears that his intercession came to the aid of England, for it is wonderful how the

Matt. Par. pp. 332, 344. On his death, in 1237, the monks elect Thomas their prior, who was opposed by Henry. After a long law-suit at Rome, Thomas resigned his claim in 1240 ; and in 1241 was Nicholas Fareham confirmed, pp. 438, 541, 550. In 1238, Peter de Rupibus, bishop of Winchester died, and Ralph Neville, bishop of Chichester, was elected, which election the king, per legistas Romipetas cassari procuravit, 1239. The king's uncle is said to have obtained a promise of the see from the pope, but he died 1239. William de Raley, bishop of Norwich, was elected 1240, Ang. Sac. 1, p. 307, but owing to the king's opposition, not confirmed till 1243. Matt. Par. 473, 517, 605. In 1241, the see of Coventry fell vacant, and the abbot of Evesham was forced on the convent, but not confirmed. On his death, William the precentor was elected 1243. Wearied out with a law-suit he resigns 1245, and Roger, dean of Lincoln, elected, pp. 576, 598, 661. In the same year the election of the prior of Norwich was reversed, and the monks took care to elect a favourite of the king, p. 483.

⁶ Matt. Par. 545. in ann. 1240.

horizon cleared up after he was gone. One by one the objects for which he had fought were won for the Church. In 1241, the see of Durham, which had so long languished without a pastor, was filled up. In 1244, king Henry, after having lavished a great sum at Rome, was finally disappointed in attempting to obtain a sentence against the bishop of Winchester. The hottest part of the battle was, however, still to come, and this was even more manifestly St. Edmund's work, for it was reserved for Richard, who had been brought up in his school to bear the full brunt of it.

The Chichester election was the first occasion on which Boniface, the new archbishop of Canterbury,⁷ made his stand against Henry's usurpations. He was a prelate of the king's own choosing, one of Henry's foreign connections, who, to the great disgust of the nation, profited by their relationship with the queen. He was a Carthusian monk, though as yet but little distinguished, except for his rank, the riches of his family, and his commanding person. But there was something in the touch of a crosier which seemed to thrill through the whole man ; even courtiers and men of the world often found themselves in situations which they had little contemplated when they were nominated to their sees. Boniface had always led a life of irreproachable purity, and he now grievously disappointed Henry by taking part against him in ecclesiastical matters, and also in his contest with the barons. Boniface had also at his side a most uncompromising opponent of every abuse, wheresoever it existed. This was Richard's old master, Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lin-

⁷ It is but little known that the traditionary beatification of Boniface has been confirmed by his present Holiness, and a service in his honour was allowed by the congregation of rites, to be used in Piedmont, his native country.

coln. Robert was a singular medieval anticipation of the English character of later times ; he had a very great sensitiveness to taxation, especially when it came in the shape of what he thought an abuse. Foreign interference was also his abhorrence, and whatever he felt he expressed in no measured terms. With all this he had many great qualities, and above all, an awful sense of the responsibility of the episcopal office. His rough words were perpetually sounding in the ears of the young archbishop. " If," he says in a letter to him, " he who has neglected to feed Christ in his members, to receive Him in his house, to clothe and to visit him, will go into the everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels, of how much greater punishment is he worthy who slays Him in his members, or throws them into perplexity when he will appear in His presence at His tremendous judgment-seat. I tremble all over at this awful care of souls, lest perchance, instead of putting them into the charge of men who will give life, we should intrust them to murderers, and so be condemned at Christ's judgment-seat."

This was spoken of the care of a single parish, and Grosseteste's zeal was tenfold more in defence of the then liberty of the Church in the election of bishops. And when, in 1244, on the death of Ralph Neville, bishop of Chichester, Robert Passelew was, by the king's contrivance, elected to fill the vacant see, it was determined to oppose the nomination to the utmost. Grosseteste had an old ground of quarrel with Passelew, who was certainly most unworthy of the high place into which he was now thrust. He was the king's minister, and a most ingenious contriver of means of filling the king's empty coffers. Abbeys, bishops, and barons all knew well Passelew's powers in wielding the regal right as a suzerain to the

best advantage. Robert, at one time, refused to institute him to a living even on the presentation of the archbishop of Canterbury, on the ground that, as royal justiciary, he was obliged to sit on causes incompatible with the sacerdotal office. It was, therefore, not wonderful that he was shocked at his election to the see of Chichester. The chapter had elected him, as was frequently the case, simply because they knew it would please the king, and save them from the usual vexatious process which the king employed in dealing with obstinate chapters. But the archbishop had a voice in the matter; as metropolitan, it belonged to him to confirm the election, and he assembled several of the bishops of the province to assist him in his decision. The canons of Chichester appeared, with their bishop elect, and Grosseteste, as an Oxford doctor and a learned theologian, was appointed to examine into the qualifications of Robert Passelew. We may judge of the confusion of the unhappy justiciary, when he got into the hands of the inexorable prelate. He soon found that theology was a different matter to deal with than the intricacies of feudal law. Grosseteste's hard questions confounded him; and the election was declared null by the archbishop, on the ground of incompetency. Then came the hard question, Who was to be bishop of Chichester? It required to be a man of no ordinary fortitude, for the mode of the election promised him a most uneasy seat. Boniface proposed Richard de Wych to the canons, and all unanimously elected him.

Richard had a miserable prospect before him when he consented to the election. In ordinary circumstances the tremendous responsibility of such a cure of souls would have been enough to sadden him; but the dreary prospect which he had in view increased the difficulties tenfold. A law suit with the king was inevitable, and then there

was the anxious question, how the court of Rome would look upon the matter. It was not a case of equity, for that would easily have been decided ; but Rome had to judge according to rule, and the election was really of such a nature, that its validity admitted of more than one doubt. The question was, whether the archbishop had a right to provide, as the phrase was, a pastor for the church of Chichester. That the metropolitan had the right of confirming the election of his suffragan, and that the archbishop and bishops of the province, in matter of fact, were usually present, and controlled the election, no one doubted ; but for the archbishop, by the judgment of his own will, to make a provision of the Church, was a bold step,⁸ when his decision might be reversed at Rome. It was very like assuming to himself a power which the Pope had refused to grant St. Edmund ; for the Saint, shortly before his retirement to Pontigny, had vainly wished to obtain the right of appointing to sees which had lain vacant for six months.⁹ All these were vast difficulties in Richard's way, not to mention the certainty of a persecution from the king ; but he remembered St. Edmund, and consented to bear the weary weight. Scarcely had he done so, when he found himself at once in the midst of the sea of troubles which he had expected. By the advice of his friends, he went to the king, bringing with him letters from the archbishop, and claiming to be put in possession of the

⁸ It appears from the bull of Pope Innocent, published in Rymer's *Fœdera*, that Henry's grounds of opposition were *quod Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus electionem cassaverit minus juste ac pro suæ voluntatis arbitrio providerit eidem ecclesiæ de pastore*.

⁹ Thomassin, 2. 2. c. 34, 7, where he adds, *Tunc quidem ea non fuit in Pontifice quam ecclesiæ necessitas desiderabat vel animi magnitudo et constantia vel certe potestas*.

temporalities of his see. The particulars of the interview are not on record, but the result of it was precisely what Richard had anticipated. Henry was not at all disposed to consent to an election in which sentence had been passed on his own favourite, and in which he had not been consulted; an election had also taken place at Coventry against his will, and it looked very like a conspiracy of the bishops to counteract the evil influence which was exerted over the chapters. His answer then to Richard was an order to his officers to take the revenues of the see of Chichester into their hands.

Richard found himself therefore again on the wide world. This was a very different life from that which he had led in the Dominican convent at Orleans, and which he had again expected to lead according to his vow. He had now but one thing to do, and that was to fly to the Holy See. If the Pope reversed his election, he would then be free to fulfil his vow; but if it was confirmed, then, not only was he bishop of Chichester, but his vow was at once null and void. Where he spent the year 1244 and the beginning of the next is not known, but the next place where we find him is at the council of Lyons, which began its sittings in June 1245; hither Richard came to present himself before the Pope, and to hear sentence pronounced upon his cause.

It was a most critical time for the Holy See, when Richard arrived at Lyons. Innocent had then no home, for he had quitted Rome, thinking that it was no longer safe for him to remain there amidst so many of the emperor's partisans. St. Louis had been prevented by his barons from receiving him, and Henry had refused to admit him into England. He had therefore taken refuge at Lyons, which was then an independent city under its archbishop. Innocent came thither with the stern de-

termination of proclaiming open war against Frederic, and of perishing if need be in the struggle. It was here first, as tradition says, that by his order the cardinals put on crimson robes to intimate that they must be ready to shed their blood for the church. The council was assembled that the voice of Christendom might pronounce a solemn excommunication against Frederic. Every one felt that this was a final act, and that the scabbard would be for'ever thrown away. All men trembled when the assembled prelates extinguished their tapers, and pronounced the awful sentence. The emperor's envoys retired beating their breasts and saying: this is a day of woe and misery. At such a time as this, when it was natural for Innocent to gather all the friends that he could, it seemed unlikely that he would offend Henry by confirming Richard's election, when he might find many good reasons for reversing it.¹ Another circumstance which rendered Henry's friendship the more necessary, was, that England was the principal fountain from which the court of Rome drew its revenues for the prosecution of the contest; and at that very time a strong remonstrance was presented by the English barons against the exactions of the papal emissaries. Henry, therefore, seemed to be the Pope's only stay in England.

Two affairs, therefore, came before Innocent from this country, each proceeding from very different quarters, and each illustrating the very different aspects under which the Holy See was there considered. First came the clamorous and vehement complaints of the nobles, in

¹ Notwithstanding the so-called Matthew of Westminster's crabbed sentence in ann. 1245, it is evident that mere worldly policy would certainly have induced Innocent to favour Henry. Matthew Paris, with much more fairness, seems to think that the king deserved to have his power curtailed.

the name of the whole realm of England, against the appointment of foreigners to English benefices, and the levying of money from the abbeys and bishopricks of the land for the carrying on of the war with Frederic. Whether these complaints were just or not, this is not the place to consider. That abuses did exist, there seems no harm in supposing, for Innocent himself allows that the introduction of foreigners into English benefices was against his will. The circumstance is only brought forward here to shew the sort of spirit which existed in this country towards Rome. It was the natural consequence of a vast system, in which the governed always take very different views of things from the government. The nationality of England was offended by the introduction of foreign clerks into its rich benefices, and the exportation of its riches for the support of a foreign war. What was Frederic to them, and what were the Lombard cities to them, isolated islanders as they were, in their sea-girt fastness? Rightly or wrongly, such was their tone, and bitter were the fruits which this English nationality produced, when men in after times made shipwreck of their faith, because of abuses in the administration of their rulers.

But, on the other hand, came Richard, to throw himself and his cause on the protection of the Holy See, ready to put himself forward in the battle of the Church, if her cause was entrusted to him, or to go back to his Dominican convent, if the Pope refused to confirm his election. He was a type of a different spirit, but of one not less English than the other, for loyalty to authority is a characteristic of England, no less than a suspicion of foreigners, and a sensitiveness to abuses. He found the king's proctors ready, with case and precedent, to shew that the king had ever had a voice in the election of bishops, ever since the days of William the Conqueror.

Notwithstanding, however, the difficulties of his position, Innocent saw that there was too much at stake in England to suffer political considerations to step in. He answered Henry that it was quite true that religious kings had exercised the right of confirming elections, but that he had so abused this privilege by rejecting canonical elections on frivolous pretences, that the Church would no longer intrust him with the sacred powers which he had abused. At the same time, as the archbishop's provision was irregular, Innocent informed Henry that the election of Richard took effect from his own confirmation, which he granted in the plenitude of his apostolic power, not from the provision of Boniface.² The Pope then proceeded to consecrate Richard, and the bishop elect of Coventry, who had come to Lyons for the same purpose, with his own hand.³ Innocent could hardly have done otherwise, even if he had wished, for it is a function of the Holy See to take up the cause of the oppressed.

² Matt. Par. in ann. 1245, pp. 656, 661, and Innocent's bull in Rymer's *Fœdera*.

³ The Burton annals say, that Roger de Wesham, bishop of Coventry, was consecrated with St. Richard, and, according to Chesterfield, Roger's consecration took place at the time of the Council of Lyons, Ang. Sac. 1,440. The date of Innocent's bull confirms this. Dat. Lugd. 12. Kal. Aug. Pontificatus nostri anno tertio. Le Neve, by mistake, makes Roger to have been consecrated in January.

CHAPTER IV.

RICHARD A BISHOP.

RICHARD left Lyons far otherwise than when he came to it, in the guise of a suppliant, not knowing how his cause would fare. He was now a prince of the Church, and the ring was on his finger by which he had been wedded to the Church of Christ, to be her faithful guardian. He was now the pastor of many thousand sheep; and woe to him if, by his negligence, any one was lost. But externally he was very little different; there was not a more apostolic prelate in the world than Richard, for the king had seized his temporalities. He had no barony, no palace, no armed retainers, no fine stud of horses, and no splendid clothes. He was to be supported in his high station solely by his personal character and the sanctity of his office. He was on the eve of a struggle in which, to all appearance, the world had everything and he had nothing. In this state of things, there was one place to which his eye naturally turned, and that was Pontigny. He went there to kneel at the tomb of his friend, to beg for his intercession with God, that he might have patience in the weary contest. However desolate was his present condition, still he had much to be thankful for. His life was no longer aimless, as it was when, five years before, he had gone from Pontigny, having buried his friend, and, with him, all that he loved upon earth. He now at least had a work to do, and

a principle to maintain in the Church of Christ. He therefore rose from his knees with a lightened heart, feeling sure that his sainted friend had already interceded for him, and would help him with his prayers in the arduous work which awaited him.

Richard found things precisely as he expected ; as soon as he landed in England, the first news which met him was, that the king had not only taken into his possession all his manors,¹ but had forbidden any one to lend him money. "What was he to do," says Bocking, "whither to turn, where to betake himself?" The property of bishops, at that time, consisted entirely in the produce of their lands, which they received in kind, so that he was absolutely penniless. It was to a place where we would least expect to find him that he first bent his steps. He went straight to king Henry's court, though he was perfectly aware of the reception which he was sure to meet. He, however, bore a mandate from the Holy See, enjoining Henry to acknowledge him as bishop of Chichester, and he resolved to deliver it in person. The result was as he expected ; the king stormed, the nobles laughed at the poor figure of the lowly suppliant, who knocked at the palace gates to sue for his bishoprick ; and the clerkings who hung about the court, expecting benefices from the royal bounty, looked with angry eyes upon the man who had run counter to the maxims of the court, by obtaining, at the hands of Christ's vicar, what the king's lordship had refused him. Richard went quietly through

¹ The Bollandists say that the king at first only made a reservation of the possessions of the see, but after his consecration confiscated them. Matthew Paris says, that Martin, the pope's agent, had an eye to the revenues of Chichester. This seems to be an instance of the good monk's Anglicanism.

their ranks, and passed on to his diocese a beggar. He had no home to which he could turn. The gates of the many houses which were his by right were closed against him ; in his very episcopal city he was a stranger. That God, who never deserts his own, raised up for him a generous friend in Simon, a poor parish priest, who offered to share with him the revenue which he derived from his benefice. Not far from Chichester, in a nook formed by a bend of the low shore of Sussex, was the little village of Ferring, of which Simon was the priest. This was the only spot in his diocese where the prelate could find rest ; all men feared the king, except Simon ; and God rewarded the good man's courage, for his barns never failed, and he had always wherewithal to support his illustrious guest. It was in pure faith that Simon had received him as his bishop, and, above all, a bishop suffering for the Church ; but when he saw him more closely, and witnessed his gentle deportment and his unwearied patience, while all the world was against him, he learned to reverence him as a man of God. He loved to watch him as he walked in the little garden of the parsonage, wrapt in meditation, or else stooping down to watch the unfolding of the flowers. Richard turned gardener in the summer, and it was amazing to see him intent on all the details of budding and grafting, as though a king's wrath was not hot against him, and he were again a country lad as he had been in his boyhood, living an out-of-door life among bees and flowers, and listening to the song of the birds in Feckenham forest. Simon looked upon the plants which he had tended as hallowed by his hand. He saw the bishop once, with his own hand, skilfully budding a shrub in the garden. Soon after Richard was called away from Ferring on the business of the diocese ; Simon watched the bud take root ;

already it had put forth tiny leaves, when, by the carelessness of the gardener, some animals strayed into the garden and destroyed the plant. When Richard returned, about the octave of St. Peter and St. Paul, Simon pointed mournfully to the shrub, and said that his work was spoiled. "Not so," said Richard, and, taking his pruning knife, he inserted another bud, and this time it prospered, and the same year it blossomed and bore fruit.

Richard, however, had no idea of remaining in quiet, listening to the sound of the gentle waters of the Arun, which flows into the sea hard by. He was not a whit the less a bishop because he was poor, so Ferring was but his head-quarters. He became at once a missionary bishop, such as Sussex had not seen since the days of St. Wilfred. Instead of being a great man, feasted to-day by the lord of Eu, and to-morrow banqueting in the halls of Arundel castle, he was the bishop of the poor. It was a rough life for one who had been hitherto a peaceful student, and who had lived so long under the blue sky of Italy. He had to wander up and down among the poor fishing-villages along the coast; the bleak wind of the downs, and the chill mists which rise from the low marshy grounds near the seashore, must be alike to him who had no house of his own to receive him at the end of a hard day's work during his visitation. And did he never regret the poverty which exposed him to such hardships? For one reason he did regret it, because he saw so much misery in his wanderings among the peasantry, which he could not by any means relieve. But otherwise it would have been absurd to regret what gave him a power which king Henry himself might have envied. Riches of course have a power of their own, but then it is a cumbrous, unelastic force, which is useful only where it can be brought to bear. For instance a high and mighty

bishop, travelling with a long train of attendants and sumpter horses, could not be lodged in any little village by the roadside. Besides, when the poursuivants of my lord bishop come galloping into a hamlet, announcing that the great man is coming with all his retinue, and lodgings must be procured, and the whole countryside scoured to get provisions ; then men think much more of the baron than of the pastor. They open their eyes and gaze upon the pageant, and think that the man environed with all this form is a being far above them. Many a corner of the diocese must escape visitation in such a sweeping journey as this. But Richard was like a keen two-edged sword, penetrating into the very heart of his diocese. The bishop seemed ubiquitous, here, there, and everywhere. Not a village hidden in the most lonely valley, surrounded by the most pathless down, nestling at the foot of the wildest cliff which stretched into the sea, could hide itself from his presence. Along the low, willowy banks of the Lavant, in the woody vale of Arundel, among the hills which stretch their grassy sides down to Lavington and Graffham, north, south, east, and west, every nook was searched, every corner known, as familiarly as a landlord knows his estate. Even down the loneliest glade of St. Leonard's forest the bishop might be seen riding, with his cross-bearer before him. This is, however, but an external way of viewing his work. He knew the wants of his flock much better than the face of the country. His whole diocese lay in his mind's eye like a map ; here is a hard-working priest, who feeds the sheep committed to his charge by Him who died for them ; there is a careless and sensual clergyman, who lets his flock wander out of the way in the wilderness. Here is a region seamed and scarred by sin ; there is a spot on which the eye of a pastor may dwell with delight. Let

vice turn and double as it might, there was Richard ready to confront it, and to exorcise it, crozier in hand. However deeply the poor penitent hid her shame, there was Richard ready to seek her out, and to speak over her the healing words of absolution.

Many a man, in hearing of all this, will envy Richard and wish to be like him. And doubtless it was a joyful thing to go about everywhere doing good, to catechise village children, to administer the Holy Sacraments, to smooth the rough path of life for the wretched, to bind up the broken-heart, to take the hard hand of the rude fisherman, whom misery had brutalized, and to lead him to look for happiness beyond the grave. But men forget that this is but one side of the picture. There was watching and weariness, anxiety and disappointment. However much he was courted by the few who were good, the mass of men were cold, dull, and impenetrable as ever. Often had he the misery of seeing them for whom he had wept, fasted, and prayed, at last giving themselves up to vice, and going headlong into profligacy. The consolations were few and far between; but the weary work was ever recurring. Besides which, the Church was suffering for his sake; and however little he cared for riches and honours, he was obliged boldly to claim the rights of the Church, which were entrusted to his hands. Here was matter enough for overflowing bitterness. In his pursuit of his rights, he was derided and scoffed at by the profligate, and treated with silent scorn by the proud. He had to stand as a suppliant at the king's gate, among lacqueys and menials, demanding what was his own. Yet, strange to say, this was the very part of all his troubles in which he rejoiced the most, because it brought him nearest to his Lord. Cold, hunger, and poverty, the weary journeyings, the incessant and wearing

labours of the confessional in his diocese, were nothing ; they brought with them their reward, for the eye of sickness and sorrow brightened when it saw him ; he passed among beseeching crowds wherever he went, and tears of joy gushed out at his approach. Men can do a great deal amid smiling looks and sympathizing friends ; but when his unwelcome figure presented itself at Westminster, it seemed to cast a shade wherever he went. Every face wore a scowl of hatred or an intense sneer as he approached. Nothing could have supported him here but the remembrance of Him, who was mocked by Herod and his men-at-arms, of Him, at whom men wagged their heads, when He was hanging on the cross.

This thought was the secret of his cheerful countenance and his undismayed heart amidst all his troubles. Few men knew the secret spring of his light-heartedness. The dean and the canons were puzzled, and knew not what to make of it. Once, when he returned from one of these fruitless expeditions to the court, the chapter was sitting about him in mournful silence, with sad and downcast looks, but he sat in the midst of them with a bright and sunny countenance ; and looking about him with a smile, he said : “Do you not understand these words of Scripture ? ‘The apostles departed from the presence of the council, rejoicing that they were thought worthy to suffer shame for His sake.’ I tell you all, that by God’s grace, this tribulation of ours will turn to joy.” The chapter certainly had reason to wonder, for he always came back from the king’s presence like a man who had just been adorned with a new title, with his blushing honours thick upon him. What sort of honours he obtained there, we may judge from Bocking’s narrative. “One day, when he had entered the king’s palace at Windsor, one of those who are called marshals looked

at him, with a savage countenance, and said, ‘How hast thou dared to set thy foot here, knowing well, as thou dost, that the king is very angry with thee?’ But he, shame-faced man as he was, felt very much confused, and went quietly out of the palace, to take his place in the open air with the men of low degree, who were waiting outside. He did not curse in his heart, or murmur; but, on the contrary, gave thanks to God for those who persecuted and spoke evil of him. From thence, too, he followed the king’s steps through dry and barren places, in toil and labour, for he was one of those who travel with an empty purse. Whenever he went into the king’s presence, he was saluted by the courtiers with jests and gibes. But, like the apostle, being reviled, he blessed; being persecuted, he suffered it; yea, from what he had suffered with St. Edmund, he learned patience.”

However, patience was not the only characteristic of this part of his life; not one jot of his episcopal authority did he abate during this time of his trial. One of the first acts of his episcopate was to hold a synod, the constitutions of which still exist, and are called after his name. They begin in a strain as high as if the bishop were surrounded with all the splendour which belonged to his predecessors. “As by the office committed to us,” he says, “we are bound to provide for the salvation and the correction of those put under our charge, lest, under pretence of ignorance, any one should quit the path of justice, or should arise in his presumption, and dare to act contrary to the canons of the Church, we have thought it right to put out certain things in the presence of this holy council, lest we, who are bound to give an account of others, should have to answer for our negligence in the terrible judgment.” And he proceeds to lay down rules for the administration of the sacra-

ments, which he enumerates, and especially of penance. Henry might take away his lands, but the tremendous power of the keys he could neither give nor take, so that Richard's constitutions are not the less stringent because he had no temporal means of enforcing his decrees. On this point, his rules are singular anticipations of the precision and clearness of the provisions of later times, though they keep more closely to the sternness of ancient discipline. A guilty baron, if he had come before Richard in the confessional, could not, in the case of certain crimes, get rid of more painful penance by giving alms.² The penance was ever to be directed to the rooting up of the evil habit of vice. "Satisfaction," according to the constitutions, "consists in the cutting off of the causes of the sin. Fasting is the proper antidote to gluttony and lust; prayer to pride, envy, anger, and sloth; alms to covetousness and avarice." The instruction of the people is also especially provided for, and every priest is enjoined to teach them the Lord's Prayer, the Angelic Salutation, and the Creed, all in the English language.

The instruction of the simple and the ignorant was the chief aim of the whole of Richard's teaching. He was a poor man amongst the poor; and it was remarkable how he thus had to fulfil the functions of the Order which he had wished to enter. "Oh, Richard, servant of Christ," exclaims friar Ralph, in describing this portion of his history, "think upon the condition of life to which, in earlier days, thou didst propose to bind thyself by a vow; and though God ordered it otherwise, and thou

² Nullus sacerdos in furto, usura, rapina et fraude injungat missarum celebrationem vel eleemosynarum largitionem, sed potius ut fiat restitutio vel quibus injuriatum est, vel eorum hæredibus, si extiterint. Constit. ap. Wilkins, vol. i. p. 689.

couldst not accomplish thy wish, yet rejoice now, for thou hast obtained grace virtually to fulfil thine intention. Dost thou ask what life I mean, I answer the life of a preaching friar ; which consists in preaching Christ in poverty, without possessing anything ; in labouring for the salvation of souls, and in toiling cheerfully in the harvest of the Lord, dependent on God's bounty, without earthly recompense. Be patient, and work bravely the work which thou hast in hand, that thou mayest receive at once the heavenly reward due to voluntary poverty, and that which will be given to the worthy pastor." Richard was, at this time, a very preaching friar, in the guise of a bishop.

CHAPTER V.

RICHARD AMONG THE POOR.

THERE is joy in the episcopal city of Chichester, and the bells of the churches are heard ringing over the green meadows in which it lies. There is a thrill of joy throughout Sussex, in the huts of the fishermen and the cottage of the labourer, for news has come that after two weary years of waiting, the bishop is to receive his own at last. His holiness the Pope had written to two English prelates, bidding them go to King Henry, and tell him that if he did not restore its lands to the see of Chichester, sentence would be pronounced against him throughout the realm. So the king had consented, and Richard might now enter his cathedral city as became a bishop. Doubtless the townsmen cried, Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord, when he entered Chichester; and the canons entoned the *Te Deum* when the bishop, with his jewelled mitre on his head and his crozier in his hand, entered his cathedral and was enthroned in St. Wilfrid's seat. So all on a sudden Richard found himself a great man in the realm; and all the manors of the see were put into his hands, Manwood and Aldingbourn, and Amberley and Bishopstone, and all the rest, with the great garden surrounding the little chapel, without the walls of the city, and its wooded parks of King's-wood and Deepmarsh, filled

with deer and game of all sorts.¹ All these were his, and we must now see how he could play the baron as well as the missionary bishop.

About the time of his returning prosperity,² St. Edmund was again brought before him, as he had been at every previous turn of his life. In June 1247 he crossed the sea and went to Pontigny, the old place of his exile, to be present at the translation of the relics of his friend. He found himself here a great man among the great men of the earth. He was accompanied by Edmund de Lacy, a religious young nobleman, who had put himself under his direction, and who would have been Earl of Lincoln, had not God taken him to himself by a premature death. Cardinals were there in their red robes, with archbishops, bishops, and mitred abbots. At this point of his history, if not before, Richard came across St. Louis, for he was there too, then in the prime of his life, with the cross on his shoulder. Blanche of Castile was there, and Isabella of France, the sister of St. Louis, who refused the hand of the emperor's son to dedicate herself to Christ. Richard gazed on the face of his friend, and imprinted on his memory once more every line of it, for the body was still uncorrupt, and the Saint lay in his pontifical robes like one asleep. When the ceremony was over, and he had prayed for his intercession through the rest of his weary pilgrimage, he hurried back to his flock. Bernard

¹ v. cart. ap. Dugdale, 6, 1170.

² The precise time when Henry restored the temporalities of the see to St. Richard is not known, but it must have been about the time that St. Edmund's translation took place, for it is said to have been two years after his consecration in the middle of 1245. The property of the see of Coventry was restored in 1246, apparently about the feast of St. Mark, but no mention is there of the see of Chichester. Matt, Par. in ann.

de Sully, bishop of Auxerre, tried to keep him, for he wanted his advice in the management of his diocese ; but Richard said that he should have to answer not for the church of Auxerre but of Chichester, so he went straight from Pontigny to Whitsand, intending to cross over at once to England.³ But when he arrived at the sea-shore, he found the wind blowing and the waves high, and the master of the vessel shook his head and said that he would not venture to set sail in such boisterous weather. Richard remained for some time at Whitsand, and still the gale blew, and the clouds looked black ; at last he sent for the captain and answered his doubtful words by saying that the power of God was greater than the storm, and could allay the winds and the waves. The sailor then said that he would venture, so the bishop and his train embarked. But they had not been long on the water, when the wind rose to a hurricane, and the sea tossed about the vessel so that she became unmanageable. The bishop's attendants entreated the captain to put back, but it was too late, for they were at the mercy of the waves. Then in their extreme peril William, the bishop's chaplain, besought him to give his blessing. He had been standing calmly and without fear, looking on the tossing waters around, for he had made up his mind that God would preserve them. At William's earnest request, however, he lifted up his hand and gave his blessing. Soon after this they saw that they were making progress, and approaching the white cliffs of Dover ; and when they landed they found that they had left behind all the other vessels which had quitted the harbour with them, and which were still tossing on the waves, dispersed on every side by the

³ It appears that he was anxious to return on account of a famine which was then raging.

tempest. They returned thanks to God, and always attributed their safety to the presence of Richard.

It was a joyful moment for Richard, when after all the dangers of sea and land, he caught sight of the long roof and the low tower of his cathedral rising above the houses of Chichester, to welcome him as he came back. Our good friend Ralph Bocking has left us a most undigested series of anecdotes as to this part of his life; and out of all this mass we can only get one clear idea, that his life was very like what it was when he was in Simon's house, and yet very different. It was very different, because he had large resources at his command; and yet it was very like, because he was always poor, for he gave away all he had. Earls and countesses, great men and fine ladies, congregate about him, and when they come to see him he gives them a noble banquet, with gold and silver cups; and doubtless the huge boar's-head and the venison of Deepmarsh graced the board, and the wines of France sparkled in the goblets. And seneschals and bailiffs and men at arms appear about him, and my lord bishop has his prisons to keep malefactors (though not very secure, as we shall see) and his courts to judge them. And yet in the great hall of the episcopal palace we see nearly the same figure as in the poor parsonage at Ferring, except that the dress is neater and not threadbare, and the forehead is more bald,⁴ and the long neck seems thinner, and the cheek-bones more prominent, and the eyes more worn with watching.⁵ He used to wear the same dress as his clerks and chaplains, his fellows, as he called them, a white tunic, and over it a pallium and a cope. He

⁴ Quia calvus sum. Boll. p. 297.

⁵ Ex tunc in proprii corporis castigatione rigidor—vigiliis refocillavit spiritum. Boll. p. 294.

used to keep open house, and, as Bocking says, "his charity was more capacious than the ample halls of his palace." He used to sit at the head of his table, his cheerful face lightening the whole company. He delighted in conversation, and if anything remarkable was said by any one, he did not forget to write it down in his common-place book. I remember once that he said to me, "the words which you spoke yesterday, I have this night written down in my book with mine own hand. And when dinner was over and the usual grace was said, he used to return thanks with his hands and eyes raised, so audibly that all around were excited to devotion. In conclusion, he always gave the blessing in these words: God give us help as He knoweth our wants."

What was, however, the hidden life of this bishop of cheerful face and affable manners? He knew well the awful responsibility of his charge, and that the bishop stands in the place of the chief Shepherd of the sheep, so he resolved to imitate his Lord in His crucifixion and His sufferings. So while his table was laden with viands, he hardly touched meat, but used to dine on bread soaked in wine. "When there were on his table, lamb, or kid, or chicken, he used, half in jest and half in earnest, to say, 'If ye could speak, how would ye blame our gluttony. We are the cause of your death. Ye innocent ones, what have ye done worthy of death?'"⁶ Beneath his neat white garments he wore hair cloth, and over that a weighty shirt of steel rings, which pressed heavily on his tender limbs. At times he carried next to his skin chains, with steel points, and these tore his innocent flesh, which, by the testimony of

⁶ Boll. p. 292.

his confessors, had never known sin. After many hours spent at night in prayer and meditation on his knees, his face bathed in tears, he would throw his weary limbs upon his bed, which was a common mattrass, though it was surrounded by the rich hangings which befitted his station. So long were his watchings, that he was sometimes found in the morning stretched with his face on the pavement, where his exhausted frame had sunk in sleep the night before. And notwithstanding his late hours, he was up with the lark, ready to say the office, for if he was not up before the birds, he would say, Shame on me! the birds, though they are not rational creatures, have been beforehand with me in singing their songs in praise of their Creator. And yet so merciful to others was he, though so ruthless to himself, that when his clerks were not up in time to say the office with him, he would go away to his private prayers, muttering to himself, Sleep on now, and take your rest. And this, be it remembered, was not a hermit in a desert, nor a monk in a cloister; he was living in the world, a man of business, who kept open house and received company. He rode on horseback about his diocese, preaching and administering the sacraments to his flock. Truly he was the minister of Him who sat down wearied under the burning mid-day sun, and asked for a cup of water to quench His thirst; who spent whole nights on the cold mountains in prayer; and whose flesh at last was torn with cruel scourgings, and pierced with nails for our sake.

And not one jot of even what the world would call usefulness was lost to his diocese by Richard's austerities. From knowing himself what suffering meant, his heart was overflowing with unbounded charity to all sufferers amongst his flock.

No curate in all the diocese worked harder than the bishop. It was among the poor especially that the overflowing charity of his heart expanded itself. He stooped down to their sorrows, and felt more at home among them than in his episcopal palace. "Whenever," says his chronicler, "he entered the towns and villages of his diocese, he made diligent inquiry as to the sick and infirm amongst the poor, and not only assisted them with alms, but was wont to visit them and console them by his presence. He cheered them with the spiritual food of the word of God; he spoke to them of patience, and bade them recollect how the fiery trial of poverty cleansed the stains of sin, and what joys in the life to come would be the result of a real poverty, that is, of one willingly borne. This spiritual alms, this feeding of the poor ones of Christ with the sweetness of God's word, was the work which most came home to his heart. He generally performed it himself, but sometimes entrusted it to the Black or Grey Friars." And it was not only those who came directly before him who felt the effects of his charity; he went out of his way to mingle in the sorrows of the fatherless and the widow. He used to order the parish priests of the manor on which he happened to be residing, to reserve for him the burial of the poor who died while he was there. Parochial work was what he loved best, and, whenever he could, priest, and not bishop, of Chichester, was the name by which he called himself. He never forgot that he had once been himself, at one time, a poor student, at another a poor priest, and so his love extended itself over these two classes. He built an hospice, to which priests who were aged, blind, or in delicate health might retire

and be in peace; and he was known, when his coffers were empty, to give to poor scholars gilt goblets off his table, bidding them go and pawn them and take the money, and "we will redeem them," he said, "in God's own time." Even the priest who had ill-treated him in his youth and wasted the money which he had entrusted to him, was relieved by him when he became a bishop.

He soon had opportunities enough of active charity in his diocese, for, in the year 1247,⁷ a grievous famine broke out in England, at the time that he hurried back from Pontigny, at the peril of his life. As soon as he was installed in his diocese, he recalled his brother⁸ to his side, and made him the seneschal of his household. Since Richard had left his home in Worcestershire, this brother had become a soldier and a knight, so he was well qualified to manage the extensive lands of the see, and to rule over the episcopal household. Bocking says that he was a prudent man; however, his prudence, which suited well with Richard's purse, did not suit as well with his charity. The see was burdened with debt, for the king's officers had rifled the manors to good purpose before they gave them up, and the seneschal was anxious to see it flourish again before he ventured to be generous. This did

⁷ The Bollandists quote a manuscript of Radulfus Cestrensis to shew that this famine was in the year 1245. It adds, however, that it occurred the year of St. Edmund's translation, which shows that it was in 1247.

⁸ Bocking says that he was *militaris ordinis*. This might seem to imply that he belonged to one of the military orders; it probably, however, only means that he was a knight. Richard, in his will, leaves some money to his brother if he chooses to go to the Holy Land. It probably was this brother, though Bocking gives him a different name.

not, however, answer Richard's purpose at all ; the poor people were dying with famine about him, and his kind heart could not bear their complaints. "Is it just, my dear brother," he would then often say, "or right, in the sight of God, that we should use gold and silver on our table, while Christ, in His poor ones, is tormented with hunger?" And then the thought of St. Edmund came across him ; and he added, "I have learned from my father to eat and drink out of a wooden platter and a wooden goblet. Let my gold and silver plate be broken up, and let them go to the feeding of His members who has redeemed us, not with perishable gold and silver, but with His precious blood. There is my horse, too ; he is a good and valuable one ; sell him, I pray thee, and feed Christ's poor ones with the price of him." His brother was obliged to obey, but it went sorely against the grain, and he determined to manage the business in his own way, without telling the bishop. Richard, shortly after, during his visitation of the nunnery of Ruspel, in the northern part of the county, found that the famine had reached the poor sisters, and their granaries were nearly empty. They served their Lord in silence and contentedness, in the loneliest part of the weald, and the world which lay beyond their solitude had forgotten them. His heart was touched with compassion, and he ordered his brother to give to the nuns a certain sum every year. The seneschal, like an old soldier as he was, determined to manage the matter craftily, so that the bishop's coffer should not suffer ; so, without telling him anything, he did not pay the pension to the convent. He, however, nearly lost his brother's favour, for Richard, when he found it out, reproved him sharply, and said that he should

be master in his own house ; and asked him if he thought the canons of Chichester such fools as to elect his seneschal their bishop, instead of himself.⁹

It was at this time that God came to aid the efforts of His servant to relieve the wretched state of the poor. Richard was at Cakeham, one of his manors, a few miles from Chichester. His house lay near a long reach of low sandy beach, which separated it from the sea ; it seems to have been a favourite residence of his, on account of the pure air which he inhaled from the fresh breezes, while his eye could wander undisturbed over the waters, till it rested in the distance on the green shores of the Isle of Wight. Thither the poor starving people had followed him, for the famine still continued, and whole families had nothing to eat. Even the bishop's stores had nearly failed ; and so little corn was in his granaries, that the officers of his household fancied that they had not enough to fill their hungry mouths for one day. They, therefore, hit upon the expedient of boiling beans, to satisfy at least a part of them. Richard happened to pass through the place where this cooking was going on, and perceived this new indication of the soreness of the famine. He said nothing, but lifted up his hand and gave the blessing. When the officers distributed the food to the poor, they found that it sufficed for all, though they had thought that it was barely enough for a third part of them, and they ascribed the superabundance to the merits of the bishop.

When the famine was over, and there was again

⁹ It appears that certain livings were appropriated to the nunnery in 1247. This matter must have passed through Richard's hands, as it could not be done without the bishop's leave.

corn in the land, the love and reverence which they felt for their bishop increased tenfold. They had recourse to him in all their little wants, and they believed that they derived virtue from the blessing which he gave them, as he passed among them. One day, as he was crossing the bridge of Lewes, he saw some fishermen throwing their nets into the water. One of the household of the archbishop of Canterbury, who was standing on the bridge watching them, cried out to him, "O my lord, we have toiled a long time, and caught nothing ; wait now, if it please thee, a little, till we try once more, and give us thy blessing, as we let down the net." Richard smiled, but did as they asked him, and said "Let it down now, in the name of the Lord." And when they drew it to land they found in it four large mullets. They laid them at the bishop's feet, but he bade them take them to the house of Franciscans in the town. At another time, some poor fishermen, who had been fishing all day at Bramber, without catching anything, saw the welcome figure of the bishop approaching them, and cried out, "My lord, for the love of God, give us thy blessing, for we have toiled all day in vain." Then Richard, out of his overflowing compassion, stretched forth his hand and blessed them ; and, immediately letting down the net, they enclosed a large number of fish.

One more instance of Richard's power, and we have done. Reginald, the mayor of Chichester, one day paid him a visit, and was surprised to find with him a wretched and loathsome cripple. Reginald asked who he was, and was answered that he was a poor boy, whom Richard, before he was a bishop, had found stretched before the porch of the church of Orpington in Kent.

With his wonted compassion, he had taken the poor boy to live with him, and had brought him to his palace, when he quitted his parsonage. The mayor said, "My lord, let him be brought into thy presence, that thou mayst lay hands on him and bless him, and I feel sure that he will recover." This required a further effort than the half-playful blessing of the fisherman, and Richard hesitated. But he bethought him of the merits of St. Edmund, and sent for the cup which had so often touched the lips of his sainted friend. He then blessed the poor boy, and gave him drink out of St. Edmund's cup; and his crooked limbs were made straight, and he was restored to health.

In all these instances, it was the overflowing love of the holy man which moved him to exert himself, in the same way as he gave alms and comforted the sick. And this is the Christian notion of miraculous gifts. They are a certain objective power residing in a Saint, by the special gift of God, and welling out from him, as it were without an effort, by an heroic act of charity.

CHAPTER VI.

RICHARD AS A GREAT MAN.

THE character of a Christian bishop has its stern as well as its merciful side; and we have only seen Richard as yet compassionate and patient. But it was principally in his relations with the great men of the earth that he had need of appearing inexorable, and on these we have hardly touched as yet. A multiplicity of business came before him as bishop of Chichester and as baron of the realm; and this brought him in contact with kings and queens, earls and countesses. In this respect, he had a most difficult part to play. It was hard to reconcile the Saint and the great man; and doubtless Richard's hair-shirt pressed more roughly on his limbs, when he had to smile and be agreeable among great company than when he was in the sphere which he loved best, among the poor people of his flock. It would have been hard under any circumstances, but it was especially so in his case; for he had been the first to come before the nobles of the land as the champion of the Church; and now that he was victorious in the contest, and was in point of fact a bishop nominated by the Holy See in the teeth of the royal power, it was hard to do away with old heart-burnings. He had been thoroughly hated by all about the court, and in the face of this feeling he had, at times, to associate with his old opponents. Besides which, between the Church and rapacious and irreligious nobles, perpetual causes of

quarrel were rising up ; sometimes a great man wanted an unworthy relation to be instituted to a living, or else he encroached upon the lands of the Church or oppressed a monastery. And, in this way, Richard was thrown in contact not only with noblemen, but with chartered cities and corporations ; and, in short, with whatever was of the world. It was a hard matter to conciliate the esteem and reverence of all amidst such manifold points of opposition, and yet Richard managed to compass the difficulty. He divided himself, as it were, into two. As a public man, not Grosseteste himself, was a more stern and inexorable defender of the rights of the Church than Richard ; but into his private intercourse with the world, he carried the same generosity and the same meekness and gentleness as with the poor. Not Grosseteste himself was a better type of an Englishman than the generous and open-hearted Richard. The halls of Amberley and of Cakeham were open to the rich and noble, as well as to the poor. The feasts were not so sumptuous as at the great table of the bishop of Lincoln,¹ nor was his conversation so suited to men of the world ; but all his guests, as they went from his gates, felt that they should never cease to love him for his cheerful and dignified courtesy. His kindness of heart, which overflowed in all he did and said, and the graceful dignity of his manner won the hearts of all. Who, indeed, could help loving him ? “ I saw once,” says Bocking, “ a man whom he wished to honour come in to dine with him, and ask for water to wash his hands before dinner.” They, therefore, went together to prepare for dinner ; and when his guest was holding

¹ In mensa refectionis corporalis, dapsilis, copiosus et civilis, hilaris et affabilis. As to Grosseteste. see annals of Lanercost, ap. Ang. Sac.

for him the napkin, according to the usual mark of respect, Richard pulled off his ring as if he wished him to hold it. When he had wiped his hands, and his guest held out the ring to give it back to him, the bishop would not take it back, but put it on his friend's finger, and bade him keep it for his sake, saying that he had another.

As for his enemies, he had a singular mode of dealing with them, which forced them to love him in spite of themselves. One of the courtiers had been heard to say, while Richard was still excluded from his manors by Henry, that he was willing to be hanged if any one would hang the bishop with him ; and yet on this very man Richard conferred many kindnesses, after his manors were restored to him. In the same way he astonished John, the first Fitzalan who was earl of Arundel. The earl had done grievous injury to the Church, and had been excommunicated ; one day, however, he came on business to the bishop, expecting to meet with a very cool reception. Richard seized on this opportunity to try to melt this stubborn heart ; he received him into his house, and suspended the sentence of excommunication for as long as he remained under his roof. He placed him next to himself at dinner, gave him his blessing, and conversed with him affably and cheerfully, dismissing him at last with gifts. The earl was quite puzzled, and went away saying : " Never, in my life, have I seen such a man ; he loves his enemies, and returns good deeds for injuries." Richard afterwards, when John Fitzalan incurred the king's displeasure, used his interest to reconcile them.

It was no wonder that Richard was beloved, when he used such guileless arts as these ; the nobles bowed their heads willingly before this uncompromising champion of the Church with all his severity. Richard had his dis-

ciples among the great men and women of the world. Edmund de Lacy, as we have seen, bred up as he was in the midst of the court, loved him tenderly ; and it appears, incidentally, that the golden cross which Richard wore was the gift of the Earl of Lincoln. Isabella, too, the dowager countess of Arundel,² a woman of such strength of character that she ventured to reprove king Henry to his face, loved him, and put herself under his direction. By his advice she never married again, but continued a widow, employing herself in works of charity ; and among other good deeds founded a nunnery at Marham in Norfolk. He brought a blessing upon her house ; and by his intercession, God was pleased to heal a religious widow who lived with her. Young and old loved Richard ; and in this respect, he contrasted with his old friend Grosseteste, who was at feud with every body. Pope and king, the chapter of Lincoln, and the monks of the diocese, secular and regulars, all had differences with him. And yet it was not that Richard had no opportunities of quarrelling ; in the defence of his Church, he was as stern as Grosseteste. The abbot of Fecamp, the countess of Kent, and even the king's brother, Richard of Cornwall, the king of the Romans all fell under his lash, and yet so meek and mild was he in the midst of his unbending assertion of the rights of the Church, that none of them could help loving him.

In one respect alone was Richard inexorable even to

² There were two countesses of Arundel called Isabella at once. One was the wife of the last Albini or d'Aubeny, who was earl of Arundel, and daughter of William, earl Warren and Surrey. The other was her sister-in-law, who, by her marriage with John Fitzalan, brought the earldom of Arundel into that family. This latter Isabella was three times married, and therefore the other was the disciple of St. Richard, as appears from Bocking's dedicatory epistle.

sternness, and that was when any one violated the dignity of the priesthood, or any priest polluted his holy office by sin. In one case he had deprived a priest of noble blood of his benefice, and was assailed on all sides by petitions for his re-instalment. "But," says Bocking, "though king and queen, and many great nobles with prelates and bishops earnestly and often begged him to restore the offender to his benefice, he was immovable, and would not yield for all their prayer." To one bishop, who was especially urgent, he answered, "My lord bishop, I commit my authority to thee in this case, at the peril of thy soul, as thou wouldest wish to to have acted at the day of judgment before the Judge of all ;" but the bishop would not accept the bargain. On the other hand, a knight had violently put a priest in prison ; Richard not only refused to accept a large sum of money as a commutation of penance ; but compelled the guilty knight to hang round his neck the block of wood to which he had chained his captive, and thus accoutred, to walk into the court of Lewes, and round the church which belonged to the priest whom he had injured. The same town of Lewes was the scene of another vindication of the rights of the Church, though the guilty parties were of a different class. Some burgesses of Lewes had violently torn a malefactor out of a church in which he had taken sanctuary, and had hanged him. On pain of excommunication, Richard made them dig up the body, which had been buried out of consecrated ground, and bear it on their shoulders to the church out of which they had taken him. Others again, who had aided and abetted, he compelled to do penance in their shirts and drawers, with ropes round their necks, through the streets of Lewes ; and he indignantly refused to commute this penance for a pecuniary fine. In this case, however, it is probable that his indignation was

roused as much by compassion for the wretched malefactor as by the injury done to the Church ; for in another case, he extended the work of his mercy to a miserable outcast from society, by the use of the right of sanctuary, which he evidently considered to be a salutary check on the summary justice as well as injustice of the times. A woman about to become a mother was shut up by the king's officers in one of the bishop's prisons under a sentence of death, which was only deferred till after her delivery. He happened to come to the manor where she was imprisoned, and went to visit her. He bade her go and sin no more, and repent of her sins, and pointed out to her a neighbouring church where she might take refuge. And when his seneschal came to him with a long face with the news that she had got off, and that he should have to pay a fine of one hundred shillings for her escape, he said, " what are one hundred shillings to the life of a captive ? Blessed be God who hath freed her."

In all these things, it is evident that Richard's whole life was engaged in making men feel that there was an authority upon earth superior to anything earthly. He knew well that men care but little for an abstraction, and so he brought the Holy Church as a living thing before the eyes of all. Through all the various gradations of society, he made her influence to be felt ; the middle classes as well as the higher, were all drawn within the capacious circle which he traced about them. The importunate cross was held up before the eyes of all, from the king in his palace to the captive in the lowest dungeon of a feudal prison. His labours reached even beyond the Church ; and a Jew whom he had instructed in the faith was baptized by him with his own hands in Westminster Abbey, in the presence of the king, who stood godfather to the new convert.

CHAPTER VII.

THE LAST DAYS.

THESE were the proper and daily functions of Richard's episcopate, and in them consisted his daily life for eight years. Only a confused view can be given of it from the scantiness of the notices of time and place furnished by his biographer, but we obtain a more distinct notion of him as we approach to the close of his life. The scene and the manner of his labours were then somewhat changed, for in obedience to a commission from the Holy See he set about preaching a new crusade in the year 1252. It was at all times a thankless and a weary task, to urge men to leave their homes to cross the seas on a distant expedition, and mothers and wives often strove to prevent pilgrims from assuming the cross.¹ But in this instance the preaching of the crusade was mixed up with many agitating questions which then began to occupy the public mind in England. It was at this time that the unpopularity of the court of Rome in England was at the highest. The laity and clergy were disgusted at the taxes which were raised on the impoverished country for the support of the crusades and of the war with the emperor, as well as with the number of foreign ecclesiastics who were appointed to benefices in England. In consequence of this feeling, associations had been formed for the des-

¹ Dunham, *Europe in the Middle Ages*, iv. 304.

truction of the property of Roman clerks ; and foreigners holding benefices had been compelled to take refuge in the monasteries. About this time, too, Grosseteste's fiery manifesto was sent to Lyons, so that in fulfilling the papal commission Richard was acting in a spirit the very opposite to that of the violent bishop of Lincoln. It will be seen by and bye that he had views of his own upon the subject of the taxation of the clergy, but he sacrificed all feelings to his obedience to the Holy See, and proceeded zealously in his ungracious task.

It was all very well whilst he proceeded along the coasts of Sussex and Kent, in his mission ; there he was on his own ground. He began in his own cathedral of Chichester, and the very arches, which now look down in their stern strength upon those who worship there, echoed to his voice as he preached the cross. Then he went down towards the coast ; and from the low turf-clad promontory of Selsey, the mother church of his see, along by Cakeham and Ferring, the scene of his patient poverty, and the sea-beaten cliffs of Beachy-head, from village to village, and town to town he went, preaching the cross of Christ. He was a very missionary in this his preaching ; and it was not only externally that he persuaded men to take the cross on their shoulders ; deep in their hearts he impressed it. He represented the crusade as a penance and as the commencement of a change of life to them who had led dissolute and wicked lives. "His aim," says Bocking, "was to bow down the rough necks of the sailors to the yoke of Christ's cross ; he preached of the abominations of sin, and of the punishment of Divine vengeance which follow it. He tried to produce grief and contrition in his hearers, and so he impressed upon them the healthful mark of the cross." The rough pilots of the sea coast, hardened into indifference by a life of

constant peril and toil, and the reckless sailors of the Cinque Ports came to kneel at his feet, and did not fear to confess the long tale of crime, which they had thought too heavy to be unfolded to any one on earth and too terrible to be forgiven in heaven ; but the good bishop gave them such sweet words of comfort that they ventured to tell him all. And when he told them how good St. Louis had suffered in captivity for the sake of the Holy Land, and was even then in Palestine waiting for succour from Europe, and how they should fight for the Lord's sepulchre, and perhaps kneel in the place where His body was laid, and obtain the remission of their sins, the tears ran down their weather-beaten cheeks and the penance seemed to them comparatively light. In this way he proceeded along the coast, even to Canterbury, "the Jerusalem of England," as the friar calls it, "since there rest the precious bodies of the martyred pontiffs Thomas and Alphege, and so many other Saints."

Thus far Richard was labouring among the poor, where he loved to be ; but soon after Easter he was summoned up to a parliament at Westminster, on Wednesday, April 14th, and the king made a proclamation, that the citizens of London were to be there as well as the barons and great men of the realm. And Richard, with Walter de Cantilupe, bishop of Worcester, and the abbot of Westminster, were to preach to this great assembly, to persuade them to take heart the business of the cross. Richard however found a very different audience under the vaulted roof of Westminster Abbey, from that which he addressed in the parish churches of Sussex, or under the sky, with a rock for his pulpit, near the sea shore. There were the rich citizens of London, who a few years before had wealth enough to buy the crown jewels of the needy king, and who aspired to be called barons ;

and there were, too, the proud nobles of the realm, who had then too much to do at home in opposing the king, to think of going to Palestine. This was a most unpromising audience, and at this time, as any one might see who looked upon them, suspicion was on every countenance, and the hearts of all were evidently steeled against the preacher. However eloquent Richard might be, it was evident that his efforts were all thrown away ; the nobleman frowned, and the citizen looked dogged and laid his hand instinctively on the pouch which hung to his girdle. The fact was that they all suspected that this new crusade was but another mode adopted by the king to extort money. Besides which they were very sore with the Holy See, of which the preacher was the representative ; so, says Matthew of Paris, few citizens and few Englishmen took up the cross. Richard went on with his ungrateful task after this repulse, and nothing more is heard of him definitely till the feast of St. Edward, January 5th, of the next year.² Again he is found at Westminster taking his seat among the nobles of the land ; but it was a scene which suited him little, though he took a prominent part in it. Still more stern were the countenances of the barons than they had been the year before, for now was read a mandate from the Holy See granting to the king on the eve of his departure for the Holy Land a tenth of the Church property for three years, and the king's agents argued that not only two years of this tax should be paid at once, as the pope's mandate allowed, but that the third year should be paid in advance. At this announcement the nobles reddened with anger and the prelates looked blank. Then up started Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, in

² The dates of these parliaments are taken from Dr. Parry's excellent book "The Parliaments and Councils of England."

great wrath, and spoke in words too characteristic to be omitted. "What is this?" he said, "by our Lady, ye are reckoning on what has never been granted to you. Do ye suppose that we have given our consent to this cursed contribution? Far be from us this bowing of the knee to Baal." And when the bishop elect of Winchester suggested that between the Pope and the king they should be obliged to pay the demand, and that the French had already established a precedent, Grosseteste answered, "So much the more ought we to resist, because the French have yielded, for two acts are enough to constitute a custom. Besides, alas! that it should be so; we see as clear as daylight what has come of the king of France's tyrannical extortion; lest then both the king and we should incur the just judgment of God, I for one freely give my voice against this oppressive contribution." It certainly seems reasonable at first sight, that the clergy should contribute with their wealth to the defence of the Holy Land, for which the laity hazarded their lives; and St. Louis was no tyrant, as Grosseteste might have known, notwithstanding his intemperate words. But on the other hand, the character of Henry was so weak and vacillating that he was hardly fit to be trusted with the money: and his having demanded what the Pope had not allowed him to require, were strong reasons against granting the demand. Besides the churches were oppressed with debt and drained by the continual demands of the court of Rome; the prelates therefore determined to resist the demand, and in the end they put off the consideration of the question.

It would have been better for Grosseteste's fame if his words had been more chastened than they often were towards the Holy See. Notwithstanding his very great qualities, his memory has been mixed up with absurd fables, and

the story of his life has become a mythic embodying of the principle of opposition to the see of St. Peter.³ Richard did better than Robert Grosseteste; after giving his vote in parliament, he went back to his weary task of preaching the cross, in obedience to the highest authority in Christendom.

It was in this work that Richard died. Parliament was to meet again after Easter, but before that time he had gone to his rest. On the 23rd of April, the third Sunday in Lent,⁴ he had got as far as Dover in his progress along the sea-coast, and went to lodge in the hospital of St. Mary, or God's house, in that town. On his arrival, the warden and brethren of the hospital begged of him to consecrate a small church and church-yard in honour of St. Edmund. His face was observed to beam with joy as he assented to their request, and those about him attributed it to his pleasure at consecrating a church in the name of his sainted friend. But it had also, as it afterwards appeared, a further meaning, for he looked upon it as an intimation that his death was at hand. After the consecration was over, he preached to a large

³ Though much relating to Grosseteste is to be received with suspicion, there seems no reason to doubt that his letter, quoted by Matthew Paris in ann. 1253, is genuine.

⁴ The Bollandists, in the notes to Bocking's life, make it to have been the fourth Sunday. But from the Saint's words to Simon of Ferring, it is evident that he died on the Thursday week after the Sunday on which he consecrated the church, not on the next Thursday. And as this day of his death was the Thursday in the fourth week in Lent, the Sunday week before must have been the third Sunday in Lent. In the other life given in the Bollandists his sickness is said to have lasted ten days, which so far agrees with Bocking; but it makes the greater part of these ten days to have preceded the consecration of the church. It has been thought better to follow the friar, whose information is more minute.

concourse of people, and a part of his sermon has been preserved : “ Dearest brethren,” he said, “ I pray you to praise and bless the Lord with me in that He has given us grace to be present at this dedication, to His honour, and that of our holy father Edmund. For this I have longed ever since I was consecrated a bishop ; this has ever been my most earnest prayer, that before my life’s end, I might consecrate at least one church to his honour. Wherefore with my whole heart I give thanks to God, who hath not defrauded me of the desire of my soul. And now, dearest brethren, I know that I must shortly put off this my tabernacle, in which last struggle, I pray you to give me the help of your prayers.” After he had finished the celebration of mass, and given the benediction, the bishop returned to the hospital. “ When, lo !” continues his biographer, “ there comes to him one of his household whom he loved, asking his leave to go to visit a church to which he had been appointed. But the bishop would not give him leave, and said, ‘ if thou leavest me now, a time will come, and that before thy return, when thou wouldest not be absent from my side, for the whole church.’” He felt a presentiment that his last hour was at hand, though as yet no sickness had shewn itself. On the Monday, he felt himself unwell, but he would not give in to the feeling ; he therefore rose as usual, and entering his oratory began to say the office. But he had not been there long, when his limbs sunk under him, and he fell prostrate on the floor. The fever was even then upon him, and he was carried to his bed from which he never rose. He daily grew worse and felt more and more certain that he was to die. When the physicians were consulting upon his disease, he said, “ Ye need not trouble yourselves to form a judgment on my disease ; death is already at the door and it has passed its judg-

ment upon me that I must depart from this earthly tabernacle, and the spirit must go to Him who gave it."

"Seeing, then," continues his biographer, "that the time in which he was to be called from this world was at hand, he called about him some of his dearest friends, and informed them that his end was approaching. He gave directions for his funeral to William, his chaplain and intimate friend, taking care that his household should not perceive and be alarmed by his preparations. He then made a general confession of his life, and the last Sacraments were administered to him.

He soon became so weak, and his voice so low, that he could hardly be heard ; yet every broken word that could be gathered showed how he kept his quiet, cheerful spirit to the last. His faithful Simon of Ferring, who was always at his bedside, once said to him, "My lord, the celebration of the Lord's Passion is at hand, and as thou art partaker of His pains, so by His grace shalt thou be of His consolation." Richard's countenance brightened when this was said to him, and he repeated in a low tone : "I was glad when they said unto me, "we will go into the house of the Lord." And then turning round on his pillow, he fixed his eyes on Simon, and said "On the Friday I shall be at a great banquet ;" and seeing that Simon could not catch the first words from the weakness of his voice, he said, "Do not you understand me ? Is not to-day Wednesday ?" Simon answered, "Yes, my lord." And then he added, "I do not mean that I shall go to the enjoyment of that banquet on Thursday, but the next Thursday after that." Simon did not understand him, but he found out afterwards what the broken words of his friend meant.

On another day he was ordered to take some food in

order to support his failing strength. One of his attendants said to him, "My lord, thy supper is but scanty to-day, it consists but of one dish, of which I hope thou wilt eat heartily." Richard said, "It is enough ; one dish alone is wanted at that supper." He then added, "Know you what I mean ? This is that of which St. Philip said to our Lord ; 'shew us the Father, and it is enough for us.' May the Lord give me that dish for my supper." A short time before he died, he asked for a crucifix, and receiving it with joy, he kissed the marks of the five wounds, and said, "Thanks be to thee, my Lord Jesu Christ, for all the benefits which Thou hast given me, for the pains and insults which Thou hast borne for me ; so great were they, that that mournful cry suited Thee right well, 'there is no grief like unto my grief.'" His voice grew weaker and weaker, but his faculties were unimpaired, and he still managed to speak, though in broken accents to those about him. When his end was drawing nigh, he said, "Lay this putrid carcass on the ground." So when they had laid his suffering frame on the floor, he repeated, over and over again, "Lord, into thine hands I commend my spirit." He had recourse to the intercession of the blessed Virgin, in his last agony, and said, "Mary, mother of grace, mother of mercy, do thou protect me from the enemy, and receive me in the hour of death." It was at midnight, that, with many of the faithful, both laymen and ecclesiastics standing about him, assembled to witness the death of the righteous, that "blessed father Richard gave up his soul into the hands of his Creator."

The last thoughts which he gave to earthly matters were directed to his friends and to his cathedral. In his will, which is still extant, he distributes his books among

various religious houses, principally of the two Orders of friars. He remembers all his servants, his old friend Simon of Ferring, and his brother ; and especially he leaves twenty-one marks as a marriage portion to his sister's daughter. To the bishop of Norwich,⁵ who it appears from a slight notice in his life was his intimate friend, he left a signet-ring. To the building fund of his cathedral, he left a large sum of money. To his cathedral also he bequeathed his body "to be buried," he says, "in the nave near the altar of the blessed Edmund Confessor, close to the pillar."

His love for St. Edmund, the key-note of his life, was thus again struck on his death-bed, and now prolonged after his death. His bowels were buried in the church which he had consecrated, but his body was dressed in his pontifical garments, and placed on a bier, and carried to Chichester. The bells of the churches sounded, and the ecclesiastics issued forth in procession, as the solemn funeral approached a village, a town, or a monastery. Tears and lamentations marked its progress, and those thought themselves happy who could approach near enough to touch his sacred body ; and when at length, his remains were brought into his cathedral the plaintive chaunts of the service were broken by lamentations. He was buried where he desired, near St. Edmund's altar, as it is described, on the north side of the church. His body does not, however, rest there now. There is a small chantry in a space opening into the south transept of Chichester cathedral, and in it a mutilated tomb with a recumbent figure of a bishop in his pontifical robes. It is beneath that tomb that St.

⁵ This Bishop of Norwich is, by mistake, called John, in the copy of the will published in Dallaway's "Sussex."

Richard lies in his saintly rest. Thither his body was translated, probably, after he had been canonized by Urban IV. in the year 1262, principally at the instance of John,⁶ bishop of Winchester, in consequence of the many miracles wrought by his intercession.

May his prayers avail for all who in these times of perplexity know not where to find rest for their souls, and bring them to the only haven where peace is to be found in this wretched world. May they avail for those who are now piously repairing his tomb, and for all connected with that cathedral, that they may be led to the Shepherd and Bishop of their souls, and to the one fold which He has established upon earth.

⁶ This bishop is called John of Guernsey by Godwin. Is not this a mistake for Joannes Gervasii?

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